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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE RED GUARD:

A PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

BY

©

ALICE AIZHEN HUANG

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1991

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present investigation was a psychosocial study of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution in China. During the Revolution, the whole nation was thrown into chaos. The Red Guards, who were a generation of adolescents, played an important role in this political movement.

Six Chinese stories are presented here, along with the researcher's. The six subjects were chosen from different backgrounds, different ages, and they were in different places in China during the Revolution. The method used was autobiography and first-person case study. The retrospective life histories were collected to enable us to understand the basic aspects of human behaviour and personality development of the Red Guards.

The study of the Red Guard provides an excellent historical example of adolescent behaviour on a mass scale. Theories of adolescent psychology written from a Western perspective were applied to explain the behaviour of adolescents, who were the Red Guards, in an Eastern culture. Adolescent characteristics emerged strongly given the special social environment of the Cultural Revolution. Descriptions given of the Red Guards reflected adolescent attitudes of confrontation, rebellion, and aggressive behaviour. Many Chinese young people fulfilled their heroic dreams and satisfied their needs of self-importance, self-display, achievement, worship of authority, and curiosity by joining the Red Guards.

Further psychosocial studies about the Chinese will add a greater understanding of human behaviour in the Eastern culture.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of the Study

In 1966, China was plunged into what was then called the "Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution" movement, led by Mao Tsetung. This movement swept across the whole country like a violent storm, affecting every Chinese person. The whole country, a quarter of the world's population, was thrown into chaos.

Millions of Red Guards poured over the land, shouting down distinguished leaders, "capitalist roaders", and suppressing "counter revolutionaries". Their aim was to sweep out the "monsters and ghosts" in every corner of the country. The guards were bent on destroying the "Four Olds": Old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits. They destroyed art objects in museums and irreplaceable religious artifacts in temples and shrines. Books which were considered to contain feudalistic and capitalistic "poison" were burned. Private homes were invaded, and countless people were put into jail, tortured, starved, beaten, and killed. Many who could not bear the humiliation and pain committed suicide. Nobody knows how many innocent people, and not so innocent ones, died during that time. This political upheaval was a major tragedy in Chinese history, and perhaps even in the history of the world.

Many who went through this turbulence had a strong desire to record the atrocities and violence of the cultural Revolution. Although the Cultural Revolution is well documented, it is worthwhile to do a psychological study. I hope to probe the movement's essence, proceeding from a surface, technical account, to a deeper level, illuminating the human motivations and emotions that ran high during the movement. Through this analysis, I hope to reveal lessons of human and cultural weakness that will help us to prevent such atrocities from happening again.

On an academic level, an event of such scale and complexity has many perspectives. Authors, like Yan Jiaqi, Liu Gaokai, Nien Cheng, Gao Yuan, many of them victims of the Cultural Revolution, have written about this subject. They have discussed it from many perspectives, including political, historical, educational, cultural, ideological and sociological. As will be seen in the following chapter, few authors have studied the Cultural Revolution from the psychological perspective.

The thematic questions of this study include: Who were the Red Guards? What types of behaviour did they exhibit? How is it that so many millions of high school and university students allowed themselves to be used and become abusers? Why did the Red Guards, these Chinese adolescents, exhibit such behaviours? What were the psychological factors within these behaviours? I feel strongly that a psychological study will fill a significant gap in the research and historical account of this important event in China's history.

The data of this psychological study was derived mainly from the experiences of several persons from different social classes and holding different positions who were involved in the cultural revolution. It was anticipated that because these people were involved with the revolution in such different ways, their responses and historical accounts and explanations would differ greatly. Although their responses varied, they provided the study with more accurate and realistic insight into the revolution. There cannot be only one view, or a narrow view. The issues involved are as complex as the people involved in the revolution. It was the object of this study, through interviews and the analysis of books, to obtain insights about the human elements that eventually led to such a tragic event. The study gives more complete information for those interested in China's social, cultural, political or economical developments, and anyone studying the psychology of adolescents. The past must be understood fully and accurately because it provides the foundation of today, and the direction for the future.

Organization of the Study

Chapter Two, the review of literature, shows the historical zeitgeist, illuminating what is commonly understood as the Cultural Revolution, from different perspectives which describe and explain the Red Guard phenomenon. The review provides the necessary historical background evidenced by previous research. My study is a continuation and contribution to the extant research from a relatively new perspective.

Chapter Three reviews several issues in adolescent psychology relevant to understanding the Red Guards' behaviour. The main issues involve a) explaining the psychological needs of adolescence, such as self-importance, self-assertion, significant contribution, and confrontation; b) the psychological characteristics of adolescence, such as instability and immaturity, adolescents' personal fable and imaginary audience, the tendency of self-display, and the strong influence of propaganda; c) the social–psychological characteristics of adolescence, such as the desire to reform society, hero–worship, role model, and the willingness to follow authority figure; d) aggressiveness in adolescence; and finally e) an examination of historical norms which may explain the Chinese people's predisposition to obey authority.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology used in this study: The different techniques, the various sources of data, and presents the interview guide.

Chapter Five presents the experiences of six individual Chinese, during the Cultural Revolution.

Chapter Six is the last chapter. It brings together the ideas drawn from the literature review, autobiography, and interviews, with the composite themes which emerge from the discussion of the Red Guards' psychology in the cultural revolution. This chapter summarizes the findings, and suggests how the study's results may help our understanding of the present situation in China, and the future of China's young people.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL ZEITGEIST

What was the "Cultural Revolution"? Why was one quarter of the world's population thrown into violence and chaos, in a period that set back China's social technological and economic progress?

In this chapter, I attempt to explain the Cultural Revolution from several viewpoints: Sociological, political, economical, and historical. The chapter includes a discussion about the creator of this movement, Chairman Mao Tsetung, Mao's definition of the Cultural Revolution, accounts from victims who survived, and expert analysts who have researched and documented the event. Through this analysis, the reader will be able to better understand the Red Guard phenomenon and appreciate how this period saw the rise and the fall of the Red Guards.

Cultural Revolution and Mao Tsetung

Coye and Livingston (1975) said, the Cultural Revolution was a great "revolution after revolution" (p. 397). These revolutions were initiated and led by Mao Tsetung, who at that time, was Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. There are many comments on this revolution. For Mao, the Cultural Revolution was "absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism" (Milton & Schurmann, 1974, p.636).

In People's Daily (April 22, 1970), Mao Tsetung pointed out:

> Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie...Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class

> struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. (Milton & Schurmann,1974, p.455)

We can see Mao's ideological thesis that the class struggle after the establishment of socialism was between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the socialist and capitalist roads, and the proletarian headquarters and bourgeois headquarters within the leading core of society. In Mao's view, much of the Chinese Communist Party, the government, the army, cultural circles, and leadership was no longer in the hands of Marxists and the people.

Mao believed that only by openly and fully mobilizing the broad masses from the bottom up to expose these so-called insidious developments in the Party's headquarters, could the proletariat class overthrow the "evil" bourgeoisie and save the Chinese revolution. These acts would dig out the root of revisionism in China, and send a very new and extremely important message to revolutionaries all over the world.

Did Mao launch the Cultural Revolution because of a pure political ideology? Mao called on the people: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road!" However, Liu (1987) believed Mao had his own purpose.

> Even though for the moment we have no intention to probe into the reason why Mao wanted to launch the so-called Cultural Revolution, we can judge by the series of remarks and actions he made that his intention in initiating this massive political movement was to realize his plan for an unprecedented purge (p. 15).

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, this political movement has been examined by the people of the world, particularly Chinese people, from a wide variety of perspectives. Thurston (1987) wrote that the Cultural Revolution was commonly understood as a struggle for power between party Chairman Mao Tsetung with the country's Chief of State, Liu Shaoqi. The ideological struggle contrasted the revolutionary, egalitarian line of Mao Tsetung and the stultifying bureaucratic line of Liu

Shaoqi; as Mao's quest for revolutionary immortality; as a factional struggle between rival young Red Guards; as a radical experiment in social, political, and economic egalitarianism. As well, the Cultural Revolution has been seen as a case of a leader and a society gone mad, and that it was also a "human tragedy on the grand scale" (Thurston, 1987).

Victims like author Cheng (1986), who survived six and half years of imprisonment and torment during the Cultural Revolution, provided first hand information on some of the revolution's atrocities. For Cheng, the events of the revolution eventually led to the demise of Mao:

> When Mao Zedong used the masses (the Red Guards and the Revolutionaries) to destroy the so-called capitalist-roaders in the Party leadership, he forced the Chinese people to witness and to take part in an ugly drama. The prolonged power struggle and the denunciations of one leader after another enabled the Chinese people to stumble upon the truth that the emperor had no clothes (Cheng, 1986, p. 539).

The Cultural Revolution was an enormously complex series of events. There were some arguments about its dates. However, according to the official Chinese assessment, the Cultural Revolution lasted for an entire decade, from May 1966 to October 1976.

The Cultural Revolution can be divided into three stages. The first stage ran from the initiation of the Cultural Revolution in May 1966 to the Ninth National Congress of the Party in April 1969. The Ninth Congress of the Party legitimated the erroneous theories and practices of the cultural revolution, reinforcing the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the Central Committee of the Party.

The second stage extended from the Ninth National Congress of the Party to its 10th National Congress in August 1973. In 1970-71 the Lin Biao clique plotted to capture supreme power and attempted an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'état. The clique announced the failure of the theories and practices of the Cultural Revolution. But the 10th

Congress of the Party perpetuated the "left" errors of the Ninth Congress and made Wang Hongwen a vice-chairman of the Party. The influence of the Jiang Qing clique was strengthened.

The third stage continued from the 10th congress of the Party to October 1976. As soon as Mao passed away in September 1976, the Jiang Qing clique stepped up its plot to seize supreme Party and state leadership. Early in October of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and Li Xiannian, executing the will of the Party and the people, resolutely smashed the clique and brought the catastrophic Cultural Revolution to an end.

The Beginning of Cultural Revolution

According to Jiaqi (1986), the Cultural Revolution started on May 25, 1966. On that day, Nie Yuanzi and six others of Beijing University put up a big character poster (dazibao), spearheaded by University's Party Committee. This act spread shock and alarm among high-ranking party leaders. The first dazibao multiplied and became the symbol of the new Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. Within a week, Mao saw the emotional impact of this first poster and ordered it broadcast over the national radio.

The Chinese people had a premonition that a new political movement was on the way, but they did not know exactly what form it would take. Not even the high-ranking Party leaders suspected that Mao planned to purge some of them through a mass movement. Broadcasted, and carried by newspapers, Nie's poster triggered a chain reaction. A wall-poster movement soon swept across institutions of higher learning in Beijing, with the intent directed against their party committee. Similar incidents also took place in universities and high schools all over the country. The young students of China were the first to respond actively. In the heat of the ensuing struggles the schools were closed for six months.

The Struggle Over Work Teams

On June 3, in Mao's absence, Liu Shaoqi and other central leaders decided to dispatch work teams to all institutions of higher learning in an effort to calm the students' unrest. The work teams first attempted to avoid or ignore students' discontent and then tried to buy them off with minimal reforms. Their intention was to redirect the fire set by Mao from themselves to the broad masses of people. In this way, they were able to punish the students and bring the situation under control. Furthermore, they showed themselves as staunch fighters carrying out Mao's "class struggle" by garnishing their revolutionary laurels with the blood of intellectuals and common people. The students balked at Liu Shaoqi's efforts, and the struggle became more intense.

Mao returned to Beijing in triumph after his famous dramatic swim across the Yangtze River. Mao was seventy–three years old and the symbolism of this event showed he was not too old to lead yet another battle against his political enemies. In August, he criticized the work teams sharply for "suppressing revolutionary students." The "Sixteen Points" were issued, supporting the Cultural Revolution, and urging the masses to criticize everyone with power. Liu's position was weakened.

Mao, The Leading Rebel

Mao again brought his prestige and influence to bear on the situation. On August 5, 1966, he put up his own big character poster, entitled "Bombard the Headquarters!", calling on the people to bombard to the headquarters of " the party power holders on the capitalist's road." He openly disclosed his intentions in launching the movement.

On August 18, 1966, Mao vouched for the Red Guards, especially the revolutionary youths who, since June, had resisted the work teams despatched by Liu. In a matter of days, tens of millions of Red Guards were organized into groups. These battalions became powerful tools for Mao.

> The Red Guards were utilized by Chairman Mao as a way of attacking opponents within the Chinese Party. But if attacking his opponents was the only aim Chairman Mao had in mind there were other means at his disposal. He clearly wanted to mobilize the energies of youth, to enhance their revolutionary fervor and strengthen their commitment to the building of a strong China (Bennett, 1971, p. x).

The enthusiasm of the Red Guards reached its height after their reception at Tiananman Square. There, Mao himself accepted one of their armbands. Many felt very proud to be one of the young red soldiers who guarded Chairman Mao. They looked forward to fight all the enemies of Mao and socialism. This irresistible outpouring of political activity stirred the whole nation. An hysterical Mao cult was stirred up in the whole country.

Mao's quotation book, The Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, the so-called red precious book, was like a Bible for the people at that time. The Mao cult was initiated by Lin Biao. Before the Cultural Revolution, he was Defense Minister. In order to get the upper hand over competitors, he made use of Mao's prestige, working in collusion with Jiang Qing, Mao's wife. Jiang and Lin coordinated their efforts in the political purge. Both were interested in wiping out the Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping factions. Both wanted to become the ultimate boss. Lin Bao stirred up the Mao worship to ingratiate himself with the Chairman so he could climb to ever higher positions. Actually, he was named Vice Chairman of the Party in the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee. All propaganda machines—newspapers, TVs, and radios, broadcasted the praises of Mao Tsetung in the same tone at that time. Naturally, Mao wanted to subdue those near him by using the idolatry of the people.

Dai Hsiao-ai, a Red Guard student, described his feelings about Mao at that time, feelings that were very much like those of other youths:

> I felt at the time our leader was not born an ordinary man. Mao Tsetung might have been born as a sun god. We even called him the red sun who arose at Shao Shan.

> The Communist Party was created and developed by him alone; the country's army was brought into being and cultivated by him alone; all success and achievement were his alone, and he never made mistakes. Every word he spoke became a "supreme directive" studied by seven hundred million people. More than ten years' of education could not but strike some response within me. I felt our leader was omnipotent, hence it was with great excitement that I hoped to see him" (Bennett & Montaperto, 1971, p. 101).

Mao had enough capital and power to mobilize this huge mass movement, and became the marshal of the young, feverish rebels. He started to receive and review the Red Guards. From August 18 to November 25, he received the Red Guards on the rostrum of Tiananmen eighty times—eleven million persons. Mao not only allowed the young students to suspend their classes and go in for "revolution", but also provided them with free trips to Beijing and other places to exchange revolutionary experiences called Chuanlian. The youngsters were overjoyed by this godsend and became even more frantic.

The Red Guards

By the end of May and in early June in Beijing, students of high schools attached to Qinghua University, the Geology Institute, the Petroleum Institute, Beijing University, and the Mineralogy Institute had secretly formed the organizations known as Red Guards. The idea was that they were the red revolutionary guards of Mao Tsetung. Most of these high school students were offspring of high-ranking officials and military officers. In Liu's (1987) opinion,

> They formed these organizations not out of any mature political purpose; rather, it was a manifestation of their political fervor and sense of political superiority. They thought they were from revolutionary families and their fathers had followed Chairman Mao in doing revolutionary work for several decades. Now that their fathers were high cadres of the party, they themselves naturally must be the most

loyal to Chairman Mao and the most revolutionary. Therefore, they were justified and qualified to form such organizations in which they could distinguish themselves (Liu, 1987, p. 25).

The Red Guards soon burst into a gigantic movement, but their aggression was directed at the so-called "Four Olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits) and "Five Black Categories" (landlord, rich peasant, counterrevolutionary, bad element, and Rightist) instead of the so-called "capitalist roaders" whom Mao intended to put down. The first students who dared to form the Red Guards were all fearless high-level cadres' children who knew what their superior political position meant. As the offspring of revolutionary families, they were entitled to inherit leading positions in the revolution and, like their fathers, would serve as heroic fighters in a "revolution" against "class enemies." When the political storm burst, it was impossible for their young eyes to see the essence of the campaign and Mao's true intent. They instinctively assumed it to be an onslaught against the "class enemy." Since the political propaganda over the previous few years had served to boost Mao's popularity the students' loyalty to Mao was a major manifestation of their revolutionary spirit. Mao's support and praise for them,worked them up to hysteria like a shot of adrenalin. They screamed at the top of their voices, "Long live Chairman Mao!" At last, they had found a battle-ground for "class struggle", and an excellent opportunity to vent their "revolutionary passions." Their ranks swelled quickly. Almost all the offspring of revolutionary cadres and military officers joined in, and large numbers of workers' and poor and lower–middle peasants' children were recruited. These people made up the so–called Red Guards of the "Five Red Categories." Like a hurricane, this mighty contingent swooped down on society and the common people (Liu, 1987, p. 26).

The Red Guards' minds had been agitated and provoked by Mao's instructions: "Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, 'It is right to rebel'", and "A revolution is not a dinner party; it is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another" (Mao, March 1927, "Report on an

Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan"). They shouted, "Sweep away all monsters and demons!", "Smash up the old world! " and they rushed ahead to make a new society.

> They were ardent-they did not hesitate to attack anyone and everyone they considered an enemy, heckling them, embarrassing them, even in the height of the first summer dragging people out of their houses to face criticism from their neighbors. Impetuous and determined, the Red Guards were the first shock troops of the new revolution (The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 1972, p. 77).

These young rebels exhibited remarkable discipline and anarchy, maturity and foolishness, sophistication and naiveté. One Red Guard group, for example, suggested to Premier Zhou Enlai that the rules governing traffic lights be changed so that red would mean go and green would mean stop, because it was more revolutionary. But they also agreed with the Premier when he pointed out that this suggestion might not be practical.

They did many frenzied things in the storm of the red terror. An appalling mopping–up operation against the so-called Four Olds and Five Black Category was unleashed, events sometimes even more brutal than the Nazis' persecution of the Jews.

A brief description about that time from Liu's (1987) summarizes the events. The initial action of the Red Guards was to smash street nameplates and store signs that smacked of the "Four Olds." They ordered barber shops to close down. They sealed off the offices of democratic parties. They destroyed religious temples and historic relics. But they soon got tired of this and escalated their revolutionary operations. They singled out large numbers of teachers in their schools and branded them, "monsters and demons." Particularly vulnerable were the older teachers and teachers of bad class origin, almost none of whom were able to escape this fate. They willfully struggled with, and beat up these teachers, searched their houses, locked them up in "cowsheds" (small, company owned prisons) and sent them to the "labor reform teams" for hard labor. They did everything they could to torture them physically and to crush their human dignity. They hurled wanton insults at schoolmates of "bad" class origin and beat them up. They stormed into the homes of capitalists, historical counterrevolutionaries, "Rightists,"and "reactionary men of letters." They rummaged through boxes and chests and dug three feet underground, trying to find out whether anyone was hiding weapons, ammunition, secret records, reactionary credentials, books and journals, jewelry, and precious stones. Then they seized these people, paraded them in the streets, forcing them wear tall paper hats. Sometimes, they shaved off half their hair, and beat them up at will.

Landlords and rich peasants living in suburbs were the most wretched of all. They were often seized by Red Guards from the cities, locked up, and some were beaten to death. In some cases even their children were taken by the Red Guards and killed. These ruffians had no misgivings about the killing; instead, they cried out: "To kill one of these damned Five Black categories simply means good riddance. It would be better to have all of them killed; then the dictatorship by the proletariat would be further consolidated." These descriptions appeared to be the real situation.

The Fall of The Red Guards

Among the issues propelling the Red Guard movement into the violent factionalism which ultimately proved its undoing was the problem of class origin. This was a difficult issue that lasted a long time in the beginning of Red Guard movement. The sons and daughters from "bad" class families were incriminated simply because of their origin. Regardless of their own political credentials, they were definitively excluded from joining the Red Guards, and indeed often became the targets of attack. The children of intellectuals also frequently suffered the ostracism of physical abuse, especially if their parents had been denounced. In the long run, rebel groups were themselves divided by the family backgrounds. The offspring of workers, peasants, cadres, and soldiers were pitted against one another as each faction claimed that only its class status was pure enough to embody Chairman Mao's sacred cause. In the factional quarrels, they fought over who were the true rebels and who were out to protect their parents and their parents' patrons from the righteous wrath of the revolutionary masses. Gradually, the Red Guards movement became unmanageable because of factional struggles. As noted by Gao (1987), during 1967 and 1968 the conflagration of local rebellion spread throughout the whole country, burning with ever–greater intensity as the internecine of Red Guard's factional struggle. Factory workers and military units also joined the fray, greatly escalating the tempo of violence. "Power seizures" rooted out the suspected revisionists of both large and petty stripe, leaving authority in the hands of rebels who often had little in mind except vengeance against their opponents. Efforts to restore order proved abortive as Mao's political whirlwind took on a momentum of its own. By mid-1968, Mao became frustrated by the persistence of turmoil and discord, and he ordered the army (PLA) to restore peace in China's cities (The violence of this phase of the Cultural Revolution was largely an urban affair, barely touching the countryside.).

Around 1969-1970, millions of Red Guards were dispatched to impoverished hamlets or factories, where they were expected to continue their revolutionary tempering, this time through hard physical labor under peasant and worker supervision. They were "re-educated" by farmers and workers. The Red Guards disappeared from the Chinese scene. But their dynamic role in the stage of Cultural Revolution was engraved on everyone's mind.

> In the immediate aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, former Red Guards were written off as a "lost generation," scorned for their acts of rebellion and often consigned to inferior jobs because of inadequate education. Several million still languish in the countryside, where they have remained since being abandoned by their radical patrons at the top (Gao,1987, p. xxvii).

Conclusion

Almost every Chinese person thought the Cultural Revolution a tragedy, since the catastrophe it caused brought China's economy to the brink of collapse. The culture, education, and human rights of a generation had been irreperably destroyed. There are deep psychological scars that individual Chinese men and women will bear for life. The social wounds will not heal for generations. The ruthless "class struggle" of the Cultural Revolution caused the whole society to be enveloped in an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and even hatred. However, the Chinese people are wiser now, having learned the following lessons from this "revolution".

First, the Cultural Revolution widened people's horizons. They learned so many things hitherto unknown to them. After the onslaught of the Cultural Revolution, the existing regime lost its former holy luster. Cadres were unmasked and lost their former prestige, built on deceit, whitewash, and administrative order. People had raised their level of consciousness and deepened their ideological understanding. (Liu, 1987). No longer blindly obeying the authorities, the people began to question, analyze and evaluate.

Secondly, the Cultural Revolution has helped the Chinese people to recognize that Mao was a human being, not a god. Liu (1987) pointed out that the Cultural Revolution enabled people to see Mao in a new light, to see through to what he really was. People used to worship Mao. Some of his moves in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution did win him gratitude and popular support. For example, Mao condemned Liu Shaoqi for promoting a bourgeois reactionary line to suppress people. Mao ordered criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, and had dossiers that had been compiled for the purpose of blacklisting people destroyed. In April 1967, Mao spared mass organizations from suppression by the military. All these gestures convinced people that Mao represented their interests and cherished them. Young people and students worshipped him hysterically and tried their utmost to serve him. But many people began to wake up and were no longer hoodwinked when in the summer and autumn of 1968 they were victimized by the big suppression, followed by the campaign to purify the class ranks, and the resettlement of cadres and students in the countryside. People had begun to judge things, not by their appearance, but by their essence. Chinese people gradually recognized Mao's true attitude toward the people plus his original plan to establish absolute personal authority and a Maoist cult by means of the Cultural Revolution. This attempt seemed successful in the early and middle stages but failed utterly in the end. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, most rebels regarded Mao as good and correct, and attributed all the bad things to those cadres who failed to implement his policies. Later, most people had discarded such muddled thinking. They now hold Mao responsible for many social evils. In the coming years, more and more facts will come to light to clarify everyone's thinking.

Lastly, the Cultural Revolution marked the first time that the Chinese people had an opportunity to exercise a few democratic rights such as the freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and demonstration since the founding of the People's Republic. The people had a few democratic rights at that time because Mao allowed them, if only to use the peoples' mass power to attack his rivals. Nobody really dared to use his democratic rights to oppose Mao himself, but such limitations period was very historical in Chinese history. More importantly, in the course of exercising their democratic rights, people became more and more independent. They broke away from Mao's restrictions and refused to serve as his tools. This was one of the causes of the great suppression during the Cultural Revolution...Despite all this, the significance of people exercising their democratic rights for the first time in this brief moment in history should be highly evaluated (Liu, 1987, p.141). Since the Cultural Revolution, more and more Chinese are standing up to fight for freedom and democracy for themselves. The June 4, 1989 Tiananman Square Incident was strong evidence of this effort.

The next chapter reviews pertinent issues of adolescent psychology and may help explain, from another perspective, the Red Guards' actions and motives.

CHAPTER III

ISSUES IN ADOLESCENT PSYCHOLOGY THAT INFLUENCED THE RED GUARDS

Adolescence is a stage of transitional development in human life which is often characterized by rebellion. During this stage the adolescent can neither be called a child nor an adult; a mixture of these seems to be a more accurate statement. During this period he faces many new problems and difficulties, and shoulders new responsibilities. Near the end of adolescence he is able to establish his own personality, but before he is able to do so, there is a kind of instability in his behavior. He is not firm in his views, principles and decisions. This instability is an indication of immaturity. We generally find that an adolescent's behavior is characterized by extremes. In many respects, the Red Guard, the subject of this research, underwent a similar period of transformation and extremes.

This part of the literature review will provide a psychological analysis of the major issues that influenced the Red Guard. These issues include: the psychological needs of adolescence; the psychological characteristics in adolescence; the social-psychological characteristics in adolescence; and aggressiveness in adolescence.

The Psychological Needs of Adolescence

The psychological needs which motivate and influence the adolescent, especially the needs of late adolescence, (the age of most Red Guards) is the focus of this section. During the late adolescent period the individual is greatly influenced by these pervasive needs: self-importance; self-assertion; achievement; and the need of confrontation. These needs are discussed in this section since it appears that they exerted great impact on the behavior of Red Guards.

The Need of Self-importance

Mitchell points out that all youth are filled with a desire for self-importance so intense that it can be understood as a need. Self-importance is among the most powerful adolescent impulses and blends with the needs for self-assertion, intimacy, belonging, and esteem. To be important means: to be essential; to be well thought of or held in high esteem; and, to be missed when away. It also means to do things of relevance, to contribute to the significant events in one's peer group or family, and to achieve goals thought important by oneself or one's close associates. (Mitchell, 1979, p.106)

Why do the adolecences have this need?

Mitchell claims that: "Self-importance provides the confidence which permits investigation and exploration of life opportunities; the absence of such confidence fosters acquiescence. Self-importance provides a reserve of psychological strength which allows one to cope more adequately with anxiety and frustration. It also makes the appraisal of new people or novel situations less threatening. Finally, a sense of self-importance means that the young person is not at the mercy of contrived rituals or invented customs designed to prove one's importance. Self-importance reinforces self-reliance by instilling confidence, and opposes the blind conformism which derives from the desire to attain importance at the expense of individualism."

The Need of Self-assertion

In addition to the need for self-importance, the adolescent has a strong need for self-assertion. Adolescents want the chance to prove themselves, to be important members of their families, schools, and society, to be socially acknowledged and made to feel important, to be accepted, recognized, and esteemed.

Adolescents usually think they are more mature than they actually are. They are serious about proving how much they have grown up and they resent being treated as a child. They need, at times, to take a defiant stance that will leave them relatively unsupported and standing alone in the world. Adolescents want to decide and act freely for themselves. In other words, they want to free themselves from the shackles of their parents, schools, and other adults to make their own choices, and satisfy their desires independently.

> According to Mitchell, the adolescent is impelled to exert independence whenever possible. Dislike for authority often blossoms at this age because it allows release of built-up tension generated by parental authority; suspicion of authority increases because adolescents resent infringement and are easily convinced that adults are devising ways to increase their infringement. Interestingly, respect for authority also matures at this age because the adolescent observes that some adults are more adept at handling authority than others, indicating that competence is essential to its proper execution, not merely age. The adolescent fascination with competence forces them to acknowledge expertise-even when it comes from authority figures. (Mitchell, 1979, p.101)

The Need of Achievement

Adolescents want to experience a sense of their own worthwhileness, and a sense that they are making a significant contribution.

"Achievement" usually refers to the need to accomplish, create, master, build, finalize, or originate. As characterized by D. C. McClelland and J. W. Atkinson, the desire to compete with a standard of excellence. Which motivates the individual to undertake tasks in which there is a reasonable probability of success and to avoid tasks which are too easy because they are not challenging, or too difficult because of a fear of failure.

Maslow believed each person receives satisfaction and respect from achievements and triumphs. Each has the desire to be accepted in and of himself, with no ulterior reasons or motives:

> All people in our society... have a need or desire for a stable, firmly (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect or self-esteem, and for the esteem of

> others. By firmly based self-esteem we mean that which is soundlly based upon real capacity, achievement, and respect from others... Satisfaction of the self-esteem needs leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability, and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world. but thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness... (Maslow, 1943, p.391)

The adolescent need for achievement is anchored in the fact that they need to accomplish something of value or importance, to meet standards of excellence in what they do.

The Need of Confrontation

A child even during his childhood has a feeling of superiority against some and also feeling of inferiority against some others, and this feeling takes stronger roots during adolescence.

Confrontation builds an inner repertoire of "standing alone." Experience facilitate the necessary shift from dependence on external authority to autonomous behaviour, and these experiences help them to explore, test and gradually extend their own resources. Adolescents seek confrontations with authority which form a necessary part of the normal developmental process. According to M. J. Miller, these confrontations involve authority figures in a continuous struggle to avoid the vicious cycle and to find an optimum balance of control and flexibility (Miller,1975, p.74).

Adolescents need confrontations in order to consolidate the sense of inner authority developed in childhood.

Piaget, by systematically observing children of different ages, demonstrated the development of inner authority in terms of intellectual understanding and emotional control.

A question is here, Did the Red Guards have the same psychological needs as I have outlined?

The Psychological Characteristics which Typify Adolescence

Adolescence is a period of transformation between childhood and maturity. The adolescent is faced with a complicated ever-extending world of opportunities and attitudes. This can be an exciting experience of instinctual and intellectual exploration, but it can also be confusing and frightening. Sometimes, impulses and fantasies threaten to get out of control. The adolescent has the additional worry of adjusting his personality to a new environment. Adolescents have their special psychological characteristics in this adjustment period. This section, discusses some of these characteristics: instability and immaturity; imaginary audience and personal fable; tendency of self-display; and easily influenced by propaganda. All these special features were displayed by the Red Guards.

Instability and immaturity

Every stage of development in human life has its own problems. As we have already seen, adolescence is a stage of revolutionary changes. The "storm and stress" has been used to symbolize adolescence as a period of chronic turbulence and emotional turmoil by G. Stanley Hall. Since 1904 many scholars have supported this viewpoint; they note during this period, the young person develops to sexual maturity, establishes an identity as an individual apart from the family, and faces the task of deciding how to earn a living.

During this period, there is a kind of instability in his behaviour. He is not firm in his views, principles and decisions. This instability is an indication of his immaturity. We generally find that an adolescent's behaviour is full of extremes, and he has strong and often prejudiced views: a tendency to see things in terms of black and white, bad and good, and to be unable to appreciate alternative outlooks, compromise or subtlety. Such rigidity deprives the individual of the pleasure of developing a multifaceted, free existence, inhibiting his creative potential.

One of the difficulties with the adolescent is the pattern of change both on a very short-term basis, from mood to mood, and with a very much longer rhythm, one of development. The rapidly switching situation presents the adolescent with a constant challenge to his various adaptive mechanisms. He easily becomes a displaced person. Sometimes he is the philosopher, sometimes the clamouring baby, and sometimes the young delinquent. The slower rhythm of change is of course from early to middle to late adolescence and then on into adult life.

Imaginary Audience and Personal Fable

Piagetian psychologists, most notably David Elkind, contend that adolescents become capable of empathizing with other people and of assuming the perspectives of someone other than themselves (Elkind, 1970,1978; Elkind & Bowen, 1979) Elkind believes two types of thinking represent the emergence of this unique kind of egocentrism in adolescence-the imaginary audience and the personal fable.

Imaginary Audience is the belief that others are as preoccupied with the adolescent's behavior as he or she is. Adolescents often act as if they are continually "on stage" in front of an audience that is focused on them. This attention-getting behavior is the desire to be noticed, visible, and they believe that they are the center of others' attention. This behaviour operates in actual situations or in relation to forthcoming events. Elkind believes that a great many adolescent behaviors and experiences can be accounted for by the operation of this phenomenon. This form of egotistical reasoning contributed to the Red Guards' feelings of being on stage, performing as hero revolutionaries for an imaginary audience. This feeling underlies the excessive self-consciousness that characterizes the personalities of many young adolescents.

Personal Fable is the adolescent's view that his or her experience is unique and could not be comprehended by others. The adolescent cannot perceive similarities between his or her emotions and situation from those of others, and it is this sense of uniqueness and specialness that distorts or ignores reality. Elkind suggests that this notion of "personal uniqueness" is also manifested in the adolescent belief in immortality.

As part of their effort to retain this sense of personal uniqueness, adolescents often craft a story about the self that is not true. With an emerging interest in idealism and the ability to think in more abstract and hypothetical ways, young adoescents often get caught up in a mental world far removed from reality, one that may entail the belief that things just can't or won't happen to them and that they are omnipotent and indestructible.

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Tendency of Self-Display

As adolescents mature social behaviour becomes increasingly complex. After gradually attaining some measure of self-confidence youth often tries to command respect in the society-at-large. At this age the adolescent has an intense emotional tension and he takes a comparatively longer time than children or adults in getting over events. He thinks that he can stand on his own legs and, therefore, to impress this fact on others he tries to attract their attention. As S. P. Chaube's observed, "This tendency generally appears during middle adolescence and occasionally takes an ugly shape. He wants to express this feeling anywhere, and everywhere without caring for any manners. He displays this tendency in many ways like putting on brightly coloured garments, laughing loudly, speaking with a false air of authority on a subject on which his knowledge is shallow, strange pronunciation of words, giving assertive opinion on disputed issues, walking in a peculiar manner, using bombastic words, criticising others, giving lessons to others, boasting about any of his successes and so on. Slowly it dawns on him that others do not like this sort of behaviour on his part and then he tries to reform himself. "In this effort he comes to know as to what is acceptable to the society and what is detested by it." (Chaube, 1983, p.88)

Adolescence and propaganda

Propaganda is an intentional effort to influence the beliefs and actions of others; the youth exercises deliberate persuasion primarily, though not entirely, through emotional appeals which are designed to win support for an idea or course of action or to belittle and disparage the ideas or programs of others. Adults's thoughts and acts are easily influenced by it sometime, and adolescents are much more easily influenced by it.

Gradually the interests of an adolescent develop. His interests are no more limited to the family, school or the neighbourhood, but they include national and international subjects as well. He gets hurt by the deplorable conditions of poor people, witnessing the injustice and exploitation they suffer. Hence he is easily influenced by forceful writers and leaders. He is liable to be misled, easily influenced by emotions at this stage, and he has the tendency to act impulsively.

In Mao's Selected Works III, his description of "mass line" politics was to operate in the following way:

> In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily from the masses to the masses. this means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystemstic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas) then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. (Mao, p.117-122)

These words account for much of the authoritarian style of action in Mao's China. This style did not emphasize putting the gun to the head or the ominous knock at the door in the dead of night. Instead, emphasis was on mass meetings, the political discussion groups, self-criticism sessions, and indoctrination exercises. Psychological pressure, unremitting if necessary, was applied in order to force the individual to correspond to the party line. The ideas of the party and Mao were to be pushed, "until the masses embrace them as their own." In the Cultural Revolution, Mao took advantage of young people's features, using propagada to stir up the movement to achieve his goal.

Social-Psychological Characteristics in Adolescence

The human being is a social animal who possesses an inborn desire to participate in social activities, and, as well, to command respect in society. The desire to enjoy the company of others and to be a member of society is not limited to children only but is present among adolescents and adults too. This helps stimulate the individual's social development and this process of development continues throughout life. The social behaviour of the adolescent goes on getting more complicated with his development.

Desire to Reform the Society

During adolescence the pace of development is rapid and the desire to participate in social activities is very strong.

According to S. P. Chaube, "The adolescent tries to bring reform in society according to his own thinking. He feels gloomy about the prevailing evil practices in the society. Sometimes he gets fully prepared to remove them. This is really a healthy sign because it prompts him to go ahead to achieve high ideals-to make his own new society." (Chaube, 1983, p.92) Adolescents want to increase their circle of living activity and are careful about the views of the society. They also feel society expects some responsibilities from them and they try to mould themselves accordingly.

Since they start taking interest in social affairs, they also feel encouraged to criticize others, parents, school, and injustice. But; the adolescent is often rebuked and snubbed by the parent, school, adults and society. He wants to carve out a society where he can get affectionate behaviour and respect from others. Compared to adults, adolescents are the most discontented people in a society.

Hero-Worship

In psychoanalysis, hero-worship is a need many people have for discovering an authority figure they can admire and submit to as a representative of an idealized father. Hero worship helps to explain the willingness of whole populations to be dominated by a "great" man. As S. P. Chaube stated,

> There are many such individuals who encourage younger people to flatter them. They derive pleasure from such a flattery by others. Hero-worship is rather a distant affair and society does not appreciate it. Hero-worshippers are mostly condemned and are considered object of contempt. However, the hero of the youth exercises a lot of emotional influence and young boys and girls do not tolerate those who criticise them. They also feels deeply injured when there are indication that their hero has no affection for him. They become restless and are unable to concentrate on work. Sometimes, the emotional impact is so devastating that they contemplate of committing suicide.(Chaube, 1983, p.101)

In the Cultural Revolution, was there anyone who encouraged younger people to flatter him as a "great man"? Did this hero of the enthusiastic Red Guard exercise great emotional influence, and did the zealots who were his followers fail to tolerate those who opposed him?

Authority Figure

The term authority figure usually implies an individual who represents power, influence, and upholds standards of right and wrong.

Some world events were infamous: the atrocities committed against the Jewish people under Hitler, the mass murders carried out by young U.S. soldiers under orders from their commanding officer at Mai Lai in Vietnam, and the mass suicide of cult members under the direction of their religious leader, Jim Jones, in South America. Why did they willingly obey the authorities' inhumane demands, even when obedience required cruel or foolhardy behavior? Stanley Milgram believes that many of us are willing to let people with higher status or those in positions of authority, determine our moral conduct. And most adolescents resist blind obedience to authority in a society that values conformity.

China, a bureaucratic state for centuries, contains many examples showing the exercise of power by a strong central authority. The institution of the monarchy provided a form of rule in which the emperor, as mediator between heaven and earthly pursuits, ruled with supreme authority. Mao believed the Chinese revolution did not have an ending, so authority was needed to guide the struggle and point the way to new revolutionary accomplishments. Therefore, diligence in waging an unending struggle during the Cultural Revolution, Mao imposing himself as the authority figure, became imperative. Were the Red Guards influenced by an authority figure in the Cultural Revolution?

Aggressiveness in Adolescence

Aggression is behaviour motivated by anger, hostility, or over-competitiveness. It is directed towards harming, destroying, or defeating other people or, in some cases, the self.

Aggression has been assigned various meanings within different theoretical models. According to Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Man is naturally aggressive; human nature is modifiable only to the extent that restrictions are perceived as a means of enhancing instinctual gratification. In Bandura's social learning theory, aggression is characterized as, "injurious and destructive behavior that is socially defined as aggressive on the basis of a variety of factors, some which reside in the evaluator rather than in the performer (1973, p.8);" In his view, aggression, like other forms of social behavior, is learned. Aggression is prompted by the pull of anticipated benefits, rather than by the push of internal states. Cochrane's (1975) psychoanalytic view of aggression was as an instinctive, impulsive, primary process. In this view, aggression was perceived to be "ungoverned by the demands of reality and ultimately destructive in quality" (p.16).

The emotional intensity of an adolescent differs from that of a child or adult. Due to his physical changes and social environment, emotional fury appears "full-force" in an adolescent. Anna Freud assigns greater importance to puberty as a factor in character formation. In her opinion, during this period, the quantity of instinctual energy begins to increase and can be attached to any id impulse, not only to sexual impulses. This change from an external to internal mechanism of control brings the mental balance into a state of disequilibrium. Thus we can observe an intensification of aggressive tencencies.

In Charles R. Keith's edited book "The Aggressive Adolescent" (1984), John E. Lochman analyzed the psychological characteristics of aggressive adolescents: During psychological assessment, the aggressive adolescent's apparent needs and drive levels, the conflict between needs, and the psychological mechanisms that mediate the expression of aggression are delineated to the maximum possible degree. The mechanisms of interest often vary according to the theoretical orientation of the psychologist, the type of adolescent evaluated, and the specific purposes of the evaluation. The major theories speculating on the development and maintenance of aggressive behavior patterns have been comprehensively and carefully compared in other sources (e.g. Bandura 1973) and are only briefly reviewed in this study. A prominent characteristic of both psychoanalytic and drive theories has been their emphasis on conflict between internal activating and inhibiting mechanisms. In Freudian theory, the expression of aggression is the result of a struggle between the basic instinctual hostile impulses that arise in the id and the ego and superego structures which seek to channel or inhibit the direct expression of the impulses. Adolescents would emit serious aggressive behaviors if the superego and ego structures were too weakly developed to control normal hostile impulses or, if the amount of raging and hostile impulses were so great, because of developmental changes or previous repression, that they overwhelmed the ordinarily adequate superego control system. ...The theories of ethologists (e.g. Lorenz, 1966) also described aggression as being the result of inherent instinctual processes, but omitted the dynamic properties of Freudian theory. In these models aggression was a residual, reflexive response that humans retained from their biological forebears who had used aggression to maintain dominance and ownership of territory as well as to defend themselves. Ethologists especially Lorenz posited that, unlike their animal predecessors, humans lacked instinctual mechanisms to inhibit their attacks, and the build-up of hostile impulses could be relieved only through aggression expression. (Keith editor, 1984, p.26)

Were there any particular side of human aggressive behaviours expressed by the Red Guards?

Chapter six will try to find the answers to these questions through the study of the autobiographical stories.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

In this chapter, the research tools and techniques used to gather the data for this study will be discussed. Three basic areas which have guided this research were outlined, earlier. The following more specific research questions were investigated.

1. Who were the Red Guards and what were their roles in the Cultural Revolution?
2. What kind of behaviour did the Red Guards display? and why did they exhibit these behaviors?
3. How were the Red Guards' mentality factors used by Mao Tsetung to achieve his political power in China?

Most of the data collected using various techniques are case studies that illuminate the personal experiences of six Chinese individuals during the Cultural Revolution. These individuals were deliberately chosen to represent very different backgrounds in an effort to understand the Red Guards' behaviour and role from a wider perspective. The six individuals may be divided into two groups: (a) people who were Red Guards and (b) those who were the "witnesses" of the Cultural Revolution. According to Scott (1965),

> A case study is a detailed exmination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single despository of documents, or one particular event. Case studies vary in their complexity; both novices and experienced researchers do them, but characteristically they are easier to accomplish than multi-site or multi-subject studies. (Bogdan & Maklen,1982, p.58-59)

The retrospective nature of this study is an illustration of a single-subject, during a particular event. The biographical form illuminates the societal and political forces faced by adolescents. When studying adolescent psychology, one must consider the demands made on individuals by society in view of the need for independence, the relationship between interpersonal adjustments, educational and vocational preparation, and the development of a workable set of personal and social values. In order to discern the validity of psychologists' theories, personal experiences are invaluable.

Techniques

These case studies used a number of techniques:

1. Autobiograbhical analysis;
2. Personal interviews in North America using an interview guide;
3. Correspondence by mail with people in China using a similar interview guide;
4. Analysis of a published autobiography by a "witness" who was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution.

The presentation of data centers primarily around my personal experiences using the data from the other individuals to support, contradict, or expand particular points. Because most of these findings are retrospective in nature, the quality of the data is determined, in part, by the interviewing technique used, the settings in which the interviews took place, and the rapport established between the interviewer and the interviewee.

The Rationale for Using These Techniques

A qualitative approach was selected for this study because of its ability to study, indepth, one person's feelings and experiences. Polkinghorne (1983), states that there are three data sources for phenomenological description: a) the researcher's own memory applying reflection and reconstruction, b) data gathered from a researcher through interview or written descriptions, and c) data obtained from novelists, artists or poets. This study incorporates all three sources of description.

There are a number of advantages in using a case study approach. First, every author is both the subject and the observer of the events to be described. Secondly, the risk of misinterpretation of the data by the researcher is minimized. Finally, conversations with other Chinese citizens, have verified these views. The assumption in this paper is that the experiences outlined below not only represent those of the informants, but are also representative of other peoples' who grew up during that period in China.

Biases in this Paper

Having used personal experiences as data for this research, there is a high risk of subjective rather than objective reporting. This risk is especially high since the experiences to be described were traumatic, disturbing and disorienting, and because of the intense emotional involvement of the subjects.

Interviewees

Initially, it was difficult to find individuals to participate in the study for two main reasons, a) the pain and shame of the past event and b) the danger to personal safety particularly for those people still living in mainland China for having spoken about such a politically sensitive issue. The interviewees, whether in North America or in China, were informed that their identity and personal details would be excluded or sufficiently altered. This assurance made them feel more at ease and willing to participate in the study. It was also important to recognize the subjects' support for my study. They respected my need to provide, from a psychological perspective, new information about one of modern China's most devastating and significant events.

In the following outline, the names and personal backgrounds of the individuals have been changed to protect their identities but not so much as to affect the essence of their experiences and accounts.

The Witnesses

1. Aizhen Huang—from an "unacceptable family"; autobigraphy. (North America)
2. Liang Dong—from an "acceptable family"; personal interview. (North America)
3. Nien Cheng—a persecuted witness; author of an autobiography; passages from her autobiography.

The Red Guards

1. Shengli Hong—from a high governmental status family; correspondent interview.(China)
2. Fei Yang—from a peasant working family; personal interview.(North America)
3. Jian Wu—from an intellectual family; personal interview.(North America)

Interview Guide

The following is a list of questions used in both the personal and correspondence interviews. Most of the questions are interrelated, freeing the researcher to evaluate the responses and ultimately provide a substantiated case study of these six individuals' experiences.

Before the Cultural Revolution (before1966)

Personal. Age, family background, residence.

Education. 1. Which school did you attend and what kind of education did you receive before the Cultural Revolution?

2. How would you describe the political lessons taught in class?

3. How did you feel about your education then? Did you like it?, Did you feel that it was important and did it provide you with a necessary level of information?

4. Did you have any personal interests or hobbies? Were you able to pursue them? Did your parents or other authority figures encourage or discourage these interests? Did they force you to focus on school ?

5. Did you feel very happy when you did not have any exams during the Cultural Revolution?

Discipline: 1: Do you think there was much discipline in school, at home, in society in general? If yes, can you describe the areas where there was most discipline? If no, why not?

2. How would you compare the social discipline (school, work, family) prevalent in China during this time with what you think is typical of western societies.

-How did you feel about the abolition of the old order of authority and discipline in the beginning of the Cultural Revolution?

Political Movement. 1. Did you enjoy participating in the "Learn from Lei Feng" movement? Why?

2. Did your family, relatives and friends have any troubles during the political movements before the Cultural Revolution? What type of persecution did they suffer? How did you feel about political persecution?

During The Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976)

Personal: Age, residence, school.

Political Movement: 1. What was your feeling when Mao put up his first "Big Character poster, titled, "Bombard the Headquarters"?

2. Did you think that the Cultural Revolution was another "anti-right" movement?

3. Did you participate in any of the parades celebrating Mao's speech/ instruction? Did you write any of the Big Character posters? Did you take part in all kinds of activities? How deeply were you involved in these public activities?

4. What did you think about the mass posters? How did it affect the public?

5. Did you join the Red Guard? Did you wear any military uniform? How did you feel wearing the uniform?— majestic?, grand?, superior?

6. What did you see the Red Guards do ? Were there any incidents that left a very deep impression on you?

7. Did you see Red Guards beat and torture the others? Did you do it too? What was your feeling about it then and how do you feel about it now?

8. Did you see anyone commit suicide? Did you see anyone killed at that time?

9. Many people thought "Left" is better than "Right" at that time. What did you think? Why?

10. What do you think about the "theory of blood lineage"? Did you agree with it?

11. Did you join the activities exposing, criticising and repudiating the teachers and the "capitalist roaders"?

12. Did you participate in any "loyalty" movement? What did you think about, "soliciting Mao's instructions in the morning, and reporting one's work of the day to Mao in the evening"?

13. What did you think about the Mao's instruction, " A revolution is not a dinner party, it is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another"? Do you think this idea played a central part in influencing the Red Guards' behaviour?

14. Did you participate in spreading Mao's propaganda by travelling through the country? What did you think of the "revolutionary countrywide exchanges of experiences?"

15. Did you participate in any factions fighting amongst themselves at the end of Cultural Revolution? Why?

16. Did your family, relatives, and friends have any troubles during the Cultural Revolution? What did you feel about that?

After the Cultural Revolution (1976+)

1. How did you feel about the 'Lin Piao' incident?

2. What did you think about Mao, the country, and the Chinese people at that time?

3. Did you think Mao was correct to launch the Cultural Revolution?

4. In your opinion, what did Mao gain from the Cultural Revolution? What did the Chinese people gain from the Cultural Revolution?

5. What is your evaluation of the Cultural Revolution?

6. What happened to you after the Cultural Revolution? Were any of your family members, relatives and friends relocated after the Cultural Revolution? How did you feel about this arrangement? Did you find it disruptive? If you were relocated, did you have to adjust much in the new place?

Conclusion

1. Do you have anything else that you might want to share with me about the Cultural Revolution?

2. What did you think of the interview? How would you evaluate some of the questions asked?

3. Do you have any other questions that I did not ask that you think will be significant to my study?

4. In general, can you briefly describe your opinions about the Red Guards' mentality that made them behave the way they did during the Cultural Revolution.

CHAPTER V

RED GUARDS' STORIES

After an extensive process of interviewing people and reviewing the literature, I selected six personal accounts of the cultural revolution. The first account reflects my own experiences and observations of the cultural revolution. One account was obtained by mail correspendence, the third one was obtained from biographical text, and the other three accounts are based on personal interviews. These stories are presented here, along with my own as interviewer, and interpreter of these stories.

Although it is impossible for a study to include everyone's views and thoughts on the complex nature of life and politics in China, I hope that the following stories and commentary will provide a reasonable portrait of what happened during the Cultural Revolution.

A WITNESS WHO CAME FROM AN "UNACCEPTABLE FAMILY"

This is the first story. It is about myself. I came from an upper middle class family in Guangzhou. My father owned his own business before Liberation, and because of this he was branded a "capitalist" after the Liberation. Although my father was timid and law abiding, he still became the target of every political movement since the Liberation simply because of his capitalist status. Although he died before the Cultural Revolution, our whole family continued to suffer similar persecutions and harassments because of my father's past.

During the Cultural revolution my mother was locked up, tortured and my home was searched a few times. All my brothers and sister were continually harassed in school and in other public areas. Towards the end of the Cultural Revolution, I was sent to Hainan Island, a very primitive area. My brothers were sent to the countryside to be "re-educated". All of this happened because of our "capitalist children status". My younger brothers could not bear the bullying, humiliation, and discrimination, so they took the risk, and escaped to Hong Kong and Macau. One of my brothers is presumed dead because we have not heard from him since that time. Although penniless when they escaped China, my remaining three brothers, through hard work and much hardship, are now successful in their businesses in Hong Kong and Macau, able to enjoy the freedom and happiness denied to them in China.

I went to university in 1965. How did I obtain the chance of education with my class background? The Communist Party had an official policy proclaiming equal rights for everyone. Of course, partisanship prevailed and few individuals from merchant families escaped being sent to rural areas. I was one of the rare exceptions to the unofficial persecution. I can only guess that my personal qualities, including good luck, my performance at school, and applying to the university before the Cultural revolution began, accounted for the fact I got through university at all. I was an excellent athlete; my university believed that my gymnastic ability could help present a good face for our university. Perhaps this was the major reason I was allowed into university. I was the only one who came from a "bad" family in the whole class, so I was like an "ornament" of "impartiality" representing the "Party's class policy."

My husband and I were sent to Hainan Island in October 1970, where I was to teach school. Nobody from the city could imagine a backwards place like that. I almost cried when I saw the dirt floor in my thatched hut. I did not expect to see aboriginal "Li people" speaking a different language and gathering around me without clothes. I felt I was suddenly living in a primitive world. We had to work very hard to survive, sometimes without vegetables or water, and teaching "Li" students who did not speak Mandarin was difficult. After years of intolerable life on Hainan Island, I had steeled myself against the hardships I had to endure. I was always hopeful that I would be able to get off the island. My husband was finally accepted at the university once more as the normal exam system was re-established by Deng Xiaoping. We returned to Guangzhou city after he graduated from Shanghai Normal University.

Beyond all my dreams and expectations, not only did I manage to get away, but also, I was able to come to Canada to complete my university education after my husband arranged for a study exchange in Canada. Although the events of the Cultural Revolution are in the past, and I am far away from China, the horrors and scars from those days are deeply etched into my memories. I feel compelled to document and study that period with the hope such atrocities could not happen again.

An Unforgettable Evening

I still remember the night of May 8, 1966 clearly. It was the first night of the fierce and turbulent political storm that would continue for the next ten years.

May 8 seemed like an ordinary day in my first year of university life. Within two days, the University Gymnastics competition was to be held in Qingdao, a beautiful city in northern China. Universities from all over China were going to participate. My friends and I were very excited about the upcoming competition and we were anticipating victory. The coaches were also confident of me and our team; I enjoyed a good reputation from past competitions.

As usual, my classmates and I were walking back to our classroom for our evening classes when suddenly an unexpectedly loud broadcast broke the evening's peace and silence. A serious voice read the People's Daily's editorial against the "Three Family Village" entitled " Open Fire at the Anti-Party and Anti-Socialism Black Line!" Later we learned that the article writing group against the Three Family Village was directed by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife. We assumed this information was released by Mao.

Because I avoided politics, I did not read newspapers very often. Consequently, I did not know too much about the Three Family Village. I quietly asked my classmate and good friend Peilan. She and I were not members of the Youth League, a communist youth group. She and I preferred to stick together rather than associate with the others who were Youth League members. We both feared them. Peilan explained that all the daily newspapers were criticizing three authors who called themselves the Three Family Village. One was Wu Han, the author of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". He and his two fellow villagers, Deng Tuo and Liao Mosha, were accused of using innuendo to oppose the Party. While we talked, the broadcast continued to speak in an authoritative tone, "Certain people are using art and literature to attack the Party and socialism. Their methods are pernicious. We all have to be on guard."

That evening, we did not have any classes. Students began beating drums and striking gongs in response to the Party's call. The noise seemed to me to be introducing a new political movement. The "anti-rightist" campaign of 1957 still remained fresh in my memory. This was a campaign where large numbers of right wingers were tricked into voicing their opinions publicly only to find that it was a trap. During the "anti-rightist" campaign, the Party "earnestly" solicited opinions and asked the people to help the Party rectify its work style. Unsuspecting right wing reformers seized this opportunity, and made their view known at these public meetings. It was only then that the Party rallied the leftists to have the "rightists" surrounded and annihilated.

Amidst all the fervour around me, although I felt most of the students were basically naive, and truly believed the Party's propaganda, there were those that still remembered the 1957 treachery. Out of fear, responding vigorously and quickly they showed "loyalty" to the party. After holding a mass rally on campus we held a parade starting from the outskirts, through the institute districts to the city center in celebration of the Party's great call. Along the way, we met paraders from the other universities who were shouting the slogans we had heard from the broadcast:

"Down with the Three Family Village!"

"Down with the Antisocialist cabal!"

"Open Fire at the Anti-Party Black Line!"

"Carry the revolution through to the end!"

"Holding high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought!"

The collective energy of the paraders made us giddy and full of energy.

The Cultural Revolution In Our Department

Although we were exhausted after a sleepless night, we went back to the dormitory, but nobody thought of sleeping. After washing my face, I went back to the Foreign Languages Department with my roommates. The scene along the paths was spectacular. It required only a few hours during the night and notice boards had been set up along the paths with "Big Character Posters" plastered all over them. Every wall was covered so that hardly a brick was visible. The Posters denounced the Three Family Village, and expressed revolutionary determinations with slogans copied from newspaper headlines. Many students and teachers were strolling around reading posters. When we came back to the class, the Party secretary of our Department told us that all classes were cancelled. The formal announcement verified that there would no longer be classes, no finals, no poetry contests, no graduation, no summer vacation, and no Gymnastic competition. All personal aspirations and expectations were reduced to dreams; the Cultural Revolution took precedence over everything else.

It was the first time I found myself in a political movement, for I was too young to what happened during the 1957 Anti-Rightist campaign. However, my parents had taught me some precautions: They warned me to be especially careful when in a political movement, because of my original class and they told me that I had to control my frank and outspoken manners. If I made one mistake I would pay for the rest of my life. So I reminded myself again and again to be careful and not to forget father's words: "Disease finds its way in by the mouth. Disaster comes out from the mouth [careless talk]." So, it was best to say little and to quietly observe all that was happening around me.

We had a meeting in our Department that morning. Ma Gueibin, the Associate Party Secretary in our Department, instructed us to study the People's Daily article, "Open Fire at the Anti-Party and Anti-Socialism Black Line!" He announced that we would devote every afternoon to criticizing the Three Family Village. He called on us to "Follow Chairman Mao closely, Hold high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, and carry the revolution through to the end!" After the meeting we had a discussion in our classroom; everyone asserted their sincere devotion to the Party and Chairman Mao, all voicing their determination to join in the revolution. I had to make my position clear in that discussion too: "I will betray my class origin and I will stand with the Party and the revolutionary people." I went through the same motions everyone who came from a "bad" class origin was expected to do.

The newspapers and radio brought us news everyday from Beijing, the center of the movement. One early morning, the central radio station broadcast the People's Daily with editorials headlined, "Sweep Away All Ox Ghosts and Snake Spirits!" and, " We Are Critics of the Old World!" Layer upon layer of posters covered the school walls and boards, including the classrooms, dinning hall, offices—everywhere! The objective of the revolution had suddenly expanded far beyond the bounds of the Three Family Village. The Three Villagers' names still appeared here and there, usually covered with the symbol used on court decrees to signify the death sentence—big red X's. The masses were called upon to sweep out all the "Ghosts" in organizations–this meant anyone opposing the proletarian dictatorship, proletarian thought, and Mao Tsetung's Thought. In our Department, Ma Gueibin directed the students to attack fifteen teachers, especially those with "bad" social class backgounds. They were singled out by the Party as having a bourgeois influence upon students. Even the Party Secretary Zhao Silu was doing "Four Clean up" and the Socialist Education Movement in the countryside at that time, became a target. More and more posters went up questioning various teachers' backgrounds. For example, the circumstances surrounding the Chairman of our Department, Zhao Silu were questioned.

How did a landlord's son become a Communist? Teacher Lee, a Japanese teacher who had been an interpretor for the Japanese army during 1940's—Could he be a double agent for the Japanese? Teacher Ho, my homeroom teacher, whose father lived in America—Was she a spy? Did she threaten the Party's security? Paranoia was rampant and out of control on campus.

Posters about teachers soon proliferated in our Department. Some students stood up to expose their teachers. Liang Xiaobing, a student of the Russian language, was the first who wrote a teacher's poster in our Department. The title of her poster was "Expose Jing Deming's True Colours". Her poster caused a sensation in whole Department because of her status and the contents of the poster. Despite the lack of obvious indications, we knew there were some emotional ties between the two. He had gone back to Beijing with Liang Xiaobing for the summer vacation in 1965 to introduce her to his mother in Beijing. However, falling in love was prohibited at that time. We had to keep our minds on our studies.

Liang exposed all that she learned during the vacation about him, his family, his Guomingdang father, his opinions about the teachers in our Department and his political comments about the Communist Party. These thoughts and opinions were never spoken freely except to close relatives and friends. Jing Deming never expected Liang to make public all that he had said for the purpose of demonstrating her revolutionary standpoint; her exposé dealt a deadly blow to Jing Deming.

During a meeting held in our Department, Jing stood on the porch with a wooden board on his front: "Counterrevolutionary Jing Deming." A banner with a slogan hung high up across the porch: "Leniency to those who confess, severity to those who refuse!" Liang Xiaobing and ten other students on the porch forced Jing to confess. After Liang's speech, Jing tried to explain that he never had any intentions to oppose the Communist Party. He pleaded, "Although I am a son of a Guomingdang, I grew up in new China and was cultivated and educated by the Communist Party and the people..."

"Jing is not honest," Liang cut in. "Jing is playing tricks with us. Don't be taken in by this cunning fox."

"Down with Jing Deming!", Liang shouted, holding her fists high. "Down with Jing Deming!", the other voices chorused up and down the porch and through the crowd. The slogans shouted again and again: "Jing Deming, confess or be damned!", "Jing Deming, make a clean breast of your crimes!"

As the meeting went on, many were filled with indignation when Jing did not confess and never admitted his crimes. Some students forced Jing into the "jet-plane" position. Two students stood on each side of the accused. They pushed him to his knees, pulled his head back by the hair, and held his arms out like airplane wings. I thought it must cause terrible strain on his back and neck. At the end of the struggle meeting, two students jumped on the porch. One threw the ink bottle at Jing. The ink oozed down Jing's head and all over his chest. This symbolized that Jing was a black anti-revolutionary. The other, Chen Guolao, who later became a famous leader in the Red Guard, pressed a lit cigarette on Jing's face, shouting, " Speak, you anti-revolutionary!" I saw the cigarette burn Jing's face and he groaned in anguish. I wished he would confess his crimes as soon as possible to get the ordeal over with. Instead, he tried to throw off his guards and shouted, "No! I am a teacher of the people." His words angered the others and a few strong boys rushed to the porch and brutally attacked Jing. Jing struggled to get free, his clothes torn to shreds. To subdue Jing, I saw them cuff and kick on Jing's head and body as if they were in a boxing match. He was beaten until his body was swollen and bleeding internally. Jing became unconscious. I was horrified; this was the first time I witnessed such inhuman brutality.

Two days later, news spread swiftly across the dinning hall during supper that Jing Deming had committed suicide that afternoon. He had jumped from the top of the main university building and died instantly. Peilan and I were so shocked when we heard this news. We found a pool of blood splattered on the ground in front of the main Education Building when we ran to see.

In the evening, we attended an assembly in front of the main building of our Department. Associate Secretary Ma stood on the porch. He spoke in a monotone, "Anti-party element Jing Deming alienated himself from the Party and the people, and committed suicide. On behalf of our Department Party Committee, I hereby announce that we have decided to expel anti-party element Jing Deming from the rank of people's teachers and dismiss him from his posts outside the Party. We call on all revolutionary students and teachers to rise and criticize Jing's counterrevolutionary crimes!" I thought, he was still a sinner even after he was dead.

Jing's action silenced the criticism aimed at him, but not criticism against others. Some teachers began to expose other teachers, producing outrageous poster battles. The exchanges attracted much attention. Ironically these posters provided students with more ammunition to use against all the teachers.

The Cultural Revolution and our Family

On August 18, 1966, Mao received the Red Guards at a rally in Tiananmen Square. At that rally, Lin Piao called on Chinese youth to eradicate all the "Four Olds": old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits of the exploiting class. The aim was to transform all those parts of the superstructure that did not correspond to the socialist economic base. The Red Guards were told to sweep out all the vermin, and clear away all obstacles. After the rally, the news from Beijing described how the Red Guards had smashed the Four Olds in Beijing. All "Five Red" students immediately declared themselves to be the Red Guards in Guangzhou. The list of new Red Guards was then posted for the edification of the whole university. Significantly, nobody dared to oppose the students' revolutionary acts. These young revolutionaries elected their leaders, selected a team flag and armband, and coordinated the team's activities. Nothing was done about organizing groups for non-Five Red students like me.

The Red Guards burst into a gigantic movement in Guangzhou as they had in other cities thoughout the whole country. These young rebels smashed the old signboards of stores and restaurants representing any of the Four Olds. They gave old feudal streets new revolutionary names. They ordered barber shops to close down, and sealed off offices of the democratic parties. They destroyed religious temples, historical relics, and invaded private homes. They even cut people' long hair, or tight-fitting jeans, and took away their pointed shoes as these objects were considered offensive to the Red Guards' new socialist sensibilities.

My family, although not belonging to the "Five Black Categories" (landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists), belonged to the "Seven Black Categories" (landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, capitalist roaders and capitalists, so we shared the same fate as those from the "Five Black Categories." My mother was the first person to be selected in our family. She was branded "Ox Ghost and Snake Spirit" because of her capitalist wife status. She was harrassed and beaten by the Red Guards in her food company. In a struggle meeting, the Red Guards forced her to confess my father's and her own crimes; she had to say the company had exploited workers before the Liberation, and how she felt a deep hatred towards the new China and the Chinese Communist Party. After the struggle meeting, my mother was locked up in a cowsheds, even though she had seven children to take care of at home. My youngest brother was only seven years old at that time. My home was searched, though there were not many valuables left after my father's death many years earlier. Nevertheless, the Guards took things like a sewing machine and a radio.

My family's treatment by the Red Guards was relatively mild compared to that of my neighbors, many of whom belonged to the Five Black Categories or were "overseas Chinese" (Chinese who had returned from other countries, or who have relatives iving overseas) These peoples' homes received special attention. The Red Guards stormed into them, rummaged through boxes and chests, and dug three feet under the floors to find out whether there were hidden telegraph transmitters, weapons, ammunition, secret records, reactionary credentials, books and journals, jewelry, or gold. Old people we knew were seized, then paraded in the streets wearing tall paper hats or with heads half shaven. The Red Guards beat these paraders as they pleased. These events made me think of the ancient Chinese punishments, which included shaving the head, tattooing the face, cutting off the nose or feet, castration, and dismemberment by five horse-drawn carts.

The children of these humiliated adults also suffered. After all, Chairmen Mao said, "everybody living in a class society is stamped with the brand of his class." My brothers, my sister and myself, regardless of our own political credentials, were definitively excluded from joining the Red Guards. Indeed, often we became targets of attack. We all endured the "red terror". A popular poem at that time went like this:

A dragon begets only dragons,
A phoenix begets only phoenixes,
A rat's descendants know only how to dig holes.
A hero's child is a brave man,
A reactionary's child is a bastard.

Needless to say, our morale and self-respect were completely undermined. My siblings and I were publicly ridiculed. We were frequently asked about our family background by the Red Guards, and we had to be honest with them,but we were never sure if they would hurt us or take us away. Siuqu, now in Macau, was then in elementary school. He was constantly insulted and beaten up by his Little Red Guard classmates. He showed no emotion in public, but he cried at home. Siuwei, another of my brothers now in Hong Kong, was then in high school. His Red Guard classmates forced him to put up an insulting poster on the door of our home which declared that our family was anti-revolutionary, capitalist, and concluded that we were "rotten eggs". When the Red Guards saw this sign, they came to ransack our home. They searched through our belongings and wrecked our property. Siuwei could not bear this insult and removed the poster when the Red Guards left. However, this was a very dangerous thing to do because the Red Guards would have killed him if they found out what he had done. My entire family was very worried, and we did not know what might happen to us from day to day.

I was in the Cultural Revolution

In my class at school, I was the only one who came from a capitalist family, so I was a certain target. During the Cultural Revolution, we organized a political study session which focused on Mao's thought-use and "family history" sessions. We studied Chairman Mao's Works every morning, and were required to write reports on applying Mao's thoughts. Everyone read them aloud in class meetings, then the best essays were chosen. These authors represented the class by reading before an all-Department assembly. All students and teachers in our Department listened to the best examples of how to apply Mao's thoughts, then we returned to our classrooms to discuss what we had learned.

During family history, each student described some features of his family's past, emphasizing the exploitation and suffering experienced prior to 1949. The purpose was to enhance class feelings, especially in the socio-economic sense. As well, the students were never to forget the need for constant struggle against class enemies. Classroom meetings were held for students to read their compositions. Like the previous sessions, the best essays were selected for presentation in all-Department assemblies and then an all-school assembly.

I was criticized as I read out the history of my family's activities. I had written down what I knew: Because my grandfather had been a very poor boatman, my father did not have a chance to get an education. From the age of 13, he had to work on the boat to support himself. Because he was a hard worker, a businessman helped him get off the boat by employing him in his store. My father worked very hard in the daytime, and studied how to read and write at night. He built up his own business after many years of hardship and obstruction. Even though I repudiated my father's overt and covert exploitation of his workers, it did not stop Party and Youth Leage members in our class from criticizing me. In their view, simply being a businessman was evil enough. They accused me of betraying Mao's principles of class struggle,even though I explained how my father had come to be a businessman. They could not understand how a poor person became a rich man through thrift and hard work. They said that this kind of story was absolutely wrong.

After that session, I became more quiet in our class. They thought that I was having problems with understanding my class origin and therefore, I was not participating fully in the Revolution. On many occasions, a few Youth League members had individual talks with me. Such talk was called a "heart-to-heart talk" . They persuaded me to lay down the burden and join the revolution. At that time, some students who came from "bad" classes put up posters, announcing that they were severing relations with their parents politically and economically. The Youth League said these students had set a good example for me. If I wanted a bright future I should act like these students and stand up with the revolutionaries. They made a suggestion for me to write a teacher's poster as an indication of my revolutionary beliefs. After a few days of disquieting thoughts surging through my mind, I signed my name on our classmates' poster titled " Denouncing Ho Weifeng's Capitalist Thoughts" criticizing teacher Ho, our homeroom teacher. Four pages long, it was more than a meter high. Teacher Ho was a very kind lady, but she had a Guomingdang father in the United States. Because I was the only student who came from a "capitalist" family, Teacher Ho and I had a special bond. I did not want to attack her, but neither did I want my classmates to think me a revolutionary misfit. I did what I did not want to do. My classmates praised my revolutionary spirit and progress. Although I felt more secure, I deeply regretted what I did to Teacher Ho. I felt like I was dropping stones on a person who had fallen into a well. Even today, I still feel ashamed at my deeds and at the circumstances which had forced me to betray someone dear, so I could feel more secure.

Some Personal Thoughts

Towards the end of the Cultural revolution, I was sent to Hainan Island to be re-educated. There, I met Chen Guolao, a former Red Guard leader whom I had seen torture one of our teachers and indirectly cause the teacher's eventual suicide. At the beginning of Cultural Revolution we had been at opposite extremes: He was of the Red Five Categories but I was in the Black Seven Categories. On Hainan Island we were equals. By this time, Mao no longer needed the Red Guards, so he deployed them to the remote countrysides to be re-educated. Chen had been in low spirits for a long time. As we became acquainted I asked him how he was able to commit that particular atrocity I had witnessed. I was not completely surprised by his answer. He replied that he had done what he did because he wanted recognition from the political movement. He wanted to be somebody, to stand out in the crowd. Although he knew these behaviours were inhumane, the circumstances and context made them acceptable. I did not feel so angry towards him. He was not entirely to be blamed. The revolution had turned China upside down, making it possible for the darker side of human nature to surface. It created a nation of liars and hypocrites. Men, women, and children said things that they did not believe. Traditional institutions such as family and education were tragically altered.

Consider, for example, the extreme simplicity of some Revolutionary dictations. One had to say the "right" thing at the right time, especially during public confessions, regardless of how one felt inside. For example, during the last year at university we were sent to the countryside to remold our thoughts. In our political study class, we were told that we would be able to solve all our problems after we read Chairman Mao's works. So, although my whole body ached, after reading Chairman Mao's works, I had to say that wheras before, I had ached everywhere, all my pains and aches had now gone away because of the support I got from the great Mao Tsetung's Thought. Although I may have said all this, I did not believe it myself. The leaders and cadres all said, " Good, good," even though they knew everyone was lying; the pains and aches did not go away at all. In my opinion, everyone became a liar in order to survive. The deaths, the beatings and the suicides were terrible in their own right, but the lying that one had to do to survive was worse.

One thing I learned during this period was the fragility of the status and roles people were given to play. Social values had become completely relative. Businessmen, fathers, mothers, teachers and friends lost all their traditional respect; roles once valued were despised. Children betrayed their parents, and students betrayed their friends and teachers. Fear and social circumstance can quickly undermine values that were cultivated through generations. Self-interest and self-preservation took precedence, making people do things that they would not normally do. From my point of view, the Cultural Revolution spoiled the spirit of China, because it made the nation live by meaningless words—words which oppressed and superficially covered the pain, confusion, and anger felt by individuals whose lives and values were tragically and irreversibly changed.

A RED GUARD WHO CAME FROM A HIGH GOVERNMENT STATUS FAMILY

Shengli Hong, a 44 year old man, was a famous Red Guard figure during the cultural revolution. He was respected and envied by a lot of Chinese people. He was born to a high ranking cadre family. His father was vice mayor of one of the largest cities in China. His mother an was officer in a bureau of the city government.

Before the Liberation, Hong's parents were both involved in revolutionary underground activities with Mao Tsetung in Yianan. After the New China was formed, they became meritorious officers. While an ordinary Chinese working person could only earn about 60 yuans a month at that time, meritorious officers like Hong's father received more than 200 yuans and his mother's salary was about 150 yuans. They lived in a huge apartment which the new communist government had taken from a rich capitalist of the Kuomindang time. The apartment featured three sitting rooms, three bedrooms and reading rooms, two washrooms, and an elevator. In addition, they had a telephone, a car and a chauffeur. All of these were paid for by the Government. The ordinary Chinese people were generally unaware of such luxuries that wereenjoyed by these meritorious officers.

During the Cultural Revolution, however, Hong's father was turned into a "Capitalist Roader" and was repudiated and tortured by the Red Guards until he died. Hong's class origin was changed from the Five Red categories into the Seven Black categories—that is, from the revolutionary high ranking cadre origin, into the counter-revolutionary class origin. Even though Hong held a high and respected position with the Red Guards, his father's past capitalist background resulted in his demotion in the rank and file of the Red Guards. As a result of his experiences, Hong has developed his own perspective on the cultural revolution, the Red Guards, and China's political struggle during this chaotic period.

This is Hong's story.

My Life Before the Cultural Revolution

I was born into a cadre's family. Everyone knew that I came from a revolutionary family from my name, Shengli, which means victory in Chinese. Because I was the son of a senior cadre, I occupied a privileged position in society and had many physical and social comforts. Many people envied us and thought that we were happy with our position. I didn't think so myself. My thought differed from other children having the same background as me because my ideas and thoughts were affected by a number of factors.

A person's life may be changed a great deal by the influences of other people. My maternal aunt and her husband were two such people by whom I have been influenced. They were, and are, professors at a famous university in Beijing. Because my parents worked very hard from morning till night,they had little time to spend with me. I always spent my summer vacations at my aunt's home in Beijing.

Because my aunt and her husband went to university in Japan, they were called "capitalist intellectuals" during the Cultural Revolution. Both of them have fascinating personalities and deep intelligence. I love them and respect them very much. I learned a lot and have been influenced by many of their ideas. So, although I grew up in a revolutionary family, my thoughts were not as zealous, revolutionary or orthodox as my parents would have wished.

Of course these were only external factors. In school, I was a "bad" student and didn't study hard because I thought that my future was secure by reason of my father's high social status. I repeated the year two times in school. I indulged in foreign movies (only Soviet ones at that time), novels, and the arts. Most of my good friends inside or outside the school were the sons and daughters of capitalists, film directors, authors, and some celebrities. We were good friends because we had the same interests and hobbies. When I was only fifteen years old, I had been criticized as being a "Little Revisionist" because I promoted peace, love, and was against war—ideas I had picked up from the movies and novels. These ideas violated Mao Tsetung's principle of "class stuggle" and "stress politics" at that time. Because of these ideas and opinions, I always had been a little different from the majority of the Red Guards.

The Beginning of the Cultural Revolution

In June 1966, the Cultural Revolution began on a grand and spectacular scale in our city, especially on August 18, 1966. Chairman Mao made known his support of the Red Guards by accepting their arm-band. This act set the revolutionary situation ablaze all over the country. Within a few days, tens of millions of Red Guards set up their own organizations. The idea was that they were the red revolutionary guards of Mao Tsetung. Most of these middle school students were the offspring of high-ranking officials and military officers. Because my father's illustrious position, I ascended to the elite ranks of the Red Guards in our senior high school .

I was not totally involved in the political movements, but because I hated school, I preferred the revolutionary activities. Mao's instruction, "The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized", gave me a feeling of freedom that I never had before, and I enjoyed the feeling of being a leader just like my father in his revolutionary era. I thought this was a good chance to show my talent and ability to my schoolmates, my teachers, and to my parents too. I thought this was the way I could overcome the harsh criticism of my parents who had lost face because of my poor performance at school. Becoming a Red Guard freed me from the responsibilities of school, and gave me the opportunity to use my gregarious nature to agitate rebelliousness among my schoolmates.

I participated in, and led all of the Red Guards' activities. I was busy from morning till night, at times staying outside the whole night for meetings, parades, eradicating the Four Olds" and putting up the Big Character posters. The show windows of the Wing On Company, one of the biggest department stores in our city, were plastered with Big Character posters put up by us. We pointed out that in the old society the boss of the store chose the name "Wing On" (Peace Forever) because he wanted to be left in peace forever to continue exploiting the working people. For a long time now the store had been in the hands of the people and we were certainly not going to tolerate this odious name a day longer.

We removed the bronze lions outside one of the big city buildings. We took up our iron brooms to sweep away all the things that we thought belonged to old culture, ideology, habits and customs. During these activities, however, I never did anything to hurt people, for I had my own idea.

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the first matter everyone confronted was their "class origin". People from the so-called five bad origins, (landlords, capitalists, counter-revolutionaries, "bad elements", and rightists), were searched and harrassed. Perhaps because all my dear friends suffered from this unjust treatment, I especially hated the idea that people had to be divided into separate classes in the society according to their origins. Although I was initially in favour of this movement, and enjoyed the concomitant benefits, I later sympathized with those bad origin people whose houses were searched, and who could be arrested or killed at will at any time because of their origin.

There were few Red Guards that felt the way I did. Although I had a high position as a Red Guard and had havng a deep relationship to them, I didn't like most of them. I thought that most sons of high ranking senior cadres put on airs and were bullies. I knew the son of the city secretary of the Communist Party Committee was in a group which gang raped innocent girls. This person knew that no matter what happened, he had nothing to worry about because his father and friends of his father would help him. He was punished and sentenced to death by the Court only after the Cultural Revolution. This could not happen before the Cultural Revolution. Many sons of senior cadres I knew would not work like the ordinary people nor mix with them because, being privileged, they felt superior.

What I Saw and What I knew in Beijing

I was among the first batch of the Red Guards sent to Beijing because of my father's good background. I arrived in Beijing on August 24, 1966. The atmosphere in Beijing was insane and unbridled with energy. You could see the old folks everywhere with the broad "Five Black Categories" written on the front of their bodies. They were sent out to the countryside amidst the sounds of lashing, slapping, and sobbing. Chaos was rampant. The Big Characters posters covered all the display windows in the streets. One of them gave me a deep impression. In it, the author of the poster announced that he would change his last name Jǐang(蒋) to Jīang(江), for he regarded it a disgrace to have the same last name as Jiang Jieshi, the leader of the Guomindang, China's number one public enemy. I thought this was ironic since he must have been proud that his new last name, Jiang, was the same as Jiang Qing, Mao's wife. I had heard a lot of secret scandal involving Jiang Qing in Yianan from my mother. There was a wave of name changing, but I don't know how many changed their last names to reflect their determination and enthusiasm in the revolution.

In Beijing, I stayed in my aunt's home. The second afternoon after I arrived in Beijing, there was a "criticizing" period during which the condemned were given long lectures on their so-called weaknesses and evils. These so-called meetings were held in the big backyard of apartment. Eight old men and women were criticized and tortured for their historic "problems". The clamour of lashing, slapping, and slogans lasted from 2:00 pm until midnight. The next morning, we knew four old persons had died that night.

Because I had the chance to deal with some high ranking offspring I had known before in Beijing. I came to hear about some of their "good" deeds. When we chatted, most revealed the atrocities that they had committed, atrocities that spread to Beijing's suburb. They did not view them as atrocities but as necessary actions, and they were proud.

This was one of their stories: "One day, as soon as our Red Guards got off our six trucks, all the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists and their children were arrested and then killed with the fodder chopper, just like the Japanese killed the Chinese in Second World War. We killed more than one hundred people, ranging from a mere two years old to 80 year olds in one afternoon. "

I was shocked after I heard this unbelieveable but relly true story. I remember what I said, "You really 'eliminated' the anti-revolutionaries of this village, completely and thoroughly." The whole night I could not sleep.

My friend in Beijing told me something about his classmate, a short bald guy. (Bald heads were the hair style of the male Red Guards at that time, because that made them look like army types and revolutionary.) Someone had given him a dagger made in Finland as a gift. In order to hold a memorial ceremony for this dagger, he killed seven persons whom he never knew but who were part of the Five Black Catetories. They were sacrificial offerings. What kind of person can kill others without blinking an eye for such superficial reasons! Even today, after more than twenty years, I can still remember the nickname of this cold-blooded animal: "steamed bun stuffed with vegetables".

I felt indignant at such inhumanity. This kind of massacre was no different from what Hitler had done to the Jews and other prisoners! A question always remained in my mind: "Will this ugly page of history ever be recorded and how will it be recorded?"

My Family in the Cultural Revolution

In time, my family also suffered at the hands of the Red Guards. My father was the first to be arrested as a "capitalist roader" because he was one of the most powerful people in our city. He was hunted, locked up, criticized and tortured. I did not have a chance to see him at all because we did not know where he had been locked. We worried about him night and day. One day, my family found out that there was a big criticizing meeting to be held at the city Government. I saw my father there. I could not believe he was my father. After only a few days, his hair had turned completely white. His usually clean and neat clothes were dirty and tattered, and there was evidence of torture. My father's originally tall and big body had become small and defeated. He looked sick and I thought of his heart condition and high blood pressure. I was worried for him. Some Red Guards forced him on his knees. I was shocked: This is my father, a person who had dedicated all his life to the revolution, who had worked for the Party and its political power, oftentimes forgetting food and sleep. My younger brother and I seldom saw him more than once every two or three weeks while he was working. I had always respected and feared my father, for he was a stringent father. Now the distance in our relationship vanished, and I felt that I never loved my father as much as I did when I witnessed his public humiliation.

Angry and disquieting thoughts surged through my mind: "I don't know about the others, but I do know my father. Nobody was more loyal to Chairman Mao nor more revolutionary than he was. Nobody was more law-abiding or would have bent his back to the serve Chinese people as had my father. A real revolutionary cannot become a counter-revolutionary in one day. I do not understand how white has turned into black, up to down. Is there any justice in the world? What kind of revolution was this cultural revolution? What do they want to accomplish with this revolution?" Nothing made sense to me. Even today I cannot grasp the fine line dividing the good from the bad, the people in power from the victims. I can not understand how easily and quickly one group of people can inflict torture and death on another group, and how quickly situations can change.

Later, even my mother was locked up. My home was searched many, many times, like all those belonging to the Seven Black Catetories. Another aunt in Beijing, a teacher and a Party Secretary in her High School, was dead after three days of torture and starvation.

Red Guard- The Product of Hostile Education

I feel that all political movements that occurred before and during the Cultural Revolution were the product of ongoing hostility during the previous 17 years. For many years class struggle had been the main subject of the Government's propaganda. The people had been taught that love was a terrible thing. Everyone's energy had to be focussed on the Revolution and the never-ending class struggle. As a result, the tRevolution seemed to be completely devoid of humanity. Because a generation was cultivated and raised in hostility, is it any wonder that the Red Guards behaved as cruelly as they did?

In order to maintain his absolute domination of the Party and the State, Mao Tsetung needed a group of youth without clear and strong minds who could act with the necessary audacity. The Red Guards had been moulded by Mao Tsetung during a unique social situation. These young people acted foolishly and recklessly. They miscalculated the situation. They did not know that they were mere pawns in a political game. They presumptuously thought that it was the right time for them to mount the political stage to replace their fathers who had followed Chairman Mao doing revolutionary work for several decades. Now they had become the most loyal to Chairman Mao, and the most revolutionary.

Why did they display this kind of frenzied behaviour? Why did they allow themselves to be used by Mao? I believe there are several reasons. First, the students usually hated exams and sitting in classes. Both for myself, and for the other students, the revolution was more desirable and interesting than school. This seems like a silly reason, but I strongly believe it was a valid one.

Second, a feeling of self-importance filled the youths. They made the change overnight from youths who must obey their superiors, into masters of the state who could do anything they wanted. They probably felt like they were number one in the whole world.

Third, although the most difficult to explain, the Cultural Revolution broke all shackles of social restraint and released the darkest and most aggressive instincts of man. The Revolution released, or at least provided the opportunity for the Red Guards to satisfy their desire for revolt, for violence, and the desire for possession. In my opinion, Mao was a very clever politician. It may be that Mao hoped to see the students behave exactly as they did, their destructive actions going past all possibility for really achieving any significant or constructive change. If this was so, Mao's motive must have been selfish, using his insight into the elemental base of human psychology to assert and consolidate power.

On the other hand, if Mao really believed in the Hegelian abstraction, to create one must first destroy, then his naiveté was very similar to many thousands of Marxists who have believed that philosophical, political and economic theories may be applied to solving real social problems. If this was the case, then his mistake lay in taking the abstractions of philosophical social analysis too seriously, viewing the thinkers' demands as literal necessities instead of limited possibilities.

The Red Guards were justified in all they did for they simply followed Mao's teaching, "A revolution is not a dinner party, it is a insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." While the actions of the Red Guards varied from region to region, the basis and source of their actions were the same.

Today, the Cultural Revolution is a page in history, but the memories that remain are unforgettable. Former Red Guards are middle-aged people now. After many years of hard life in the countryside, or working in factories to be re-educated, the former Red Guards have come to realize a lot of things of which they were unaware before. They have begun to question much of what went on during the Cultural Revolution. Many of my friends think back to those revolutionary years. They describe their behaviour then as "laughable, simply ridiculous... we were all so naive."

I love my country, and I love its people. But I don't understand why they had to suffer so much until today. I have too many things I want to say. But I feel that they are hard to say.

How do I feel about my involvement in the Cultural Revolution? Do you remember the idea expressed by Ivan Turgenev about the big fish from the ocean? The big fish is in the river and a lot of small fish are swimming around him in the river. They all knew this big fish was not one of them and they did not understand what he said. Nevertheless, they let him speak about the ocean without truly understanding him. During the Cultural Revolution, I think I had the same feeling as that big fish from the ocean swimming in the small river.

A PERSECUTED WITNESS IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Nien Cheng, now 75 years old, is the author of the book Life and Death in Shanghai (1986). She came from a wealthy landowning family. Both she and her husband were students at the London School of Economics during the 1930's. Her husband later became a diplomat in the Guomindang regime and was optimistic enough to remain in Shanghai with his wife and young daughter after the Communists overthrew Jiang Jieshi in 1949.

Her husband went on to serve as a general manager for Shell, the only multinational oil company to stay on after the Liberation. When he died of cancer in 1957, Shell brought in a Briton to serve as its new manager and hired Nien Cheng as special adviser.

During the1966 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the company pulled out of Shanghai and Cheng subsequently endured six-and-a-half long years of imprisonment and torment as punishment for her relationship with this foreign company. Cheng's daughter, Meiping, was tortured and eventually died while her mother was still imprisoned because she was unwilling to denounce her mother's past.

Cheng's (1986) book is a factual account of what happened to her during the Cultural Revolution. The vividly recorded events show the viewpoint of an individual who was brutally punished. Her story gives us first hand information about the Chinese people during this historical period. I have selected the following passages from her book which I felt were particularly significant and enlightening about the Red Guards.

Night Of The Red Guard

On the evening of Aug. 30, while my daughter was attending a political meeting at her film studio, I was sitting alone in my study reading William Shirer's, Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, which had come from a London bookshop with which I had an account.

The house was very quiet. There was not the slightest sound nor movement anywhere, almost as if everything in the house were waiting helplessly for its own destruction.

Suddenly the doorbell began to ring incessantly. At the same time, there was a furious pounding of many fists on my front gate, accompanied by hysterical voices shouting slogans. The cacophony told me that the time of waiting was over and that I must face the Red Guards. "Open the gate!", someone shouted. "Are you all dead? Why don't you open the gate?" As my servant let the Guards in, I stood up to put my book on the shelf. A copy of the Constitution of the People's Republic caught my eye. Taking it in my hand, I went downstairs.

The Red Guards were 30 or 40 high school students, aged between 15 and 20, led by two men and one woman who were much older—the "teachers" who generally accompanied the Red Guards when they looted private homes. As they crowded into the hall, a gangling youth with angry eyes stepped forward and said to me, "We are the Red Guards. We have come to take revolutionary action against you!"

Though I knew it was futile, I held up the copy of the Constitution and said calmly, "It's against the Constitution of the People's Republic of China to enter a private house without a search warrant."

The young man snatched the copy out of my hand and threw it on the floor. Eyes blazing, he said, "The Constitution is abolished. It was a document written by the Revisionists within the Communist Party. We recognize only the teachings of our Great Leader Chairman Mao."

A girl came within a few inches of me and said, "What trick are you trying to play? Your only way out is to bow your head in submission. Otherwise you will suffer." She shook her fist in front of my nose and spat on the floor. Another young man used a stick to smash the mirror hanging over the blackwood chest facing the front door. He tore the mirror's carved frame off its hook and hurled it against the banister. On the hook, he hung a small blackboard with a quotation from Mao: "When the enemies with guns are annihilated, the enemies without guns still remain."

The Red Guards read the quotation aloud as if taking a solemn oath. Then they told me to read it. One of them shouted to me, "An enemy without a gun! That's what you are."

They locked me in the dining room and they spread out. There was a heavy thud overhead. I could hear glasses breaking and heavy knocking on the wall. It sounded almost as if the Red Guards were tearing the house down.

Later, when I was let out to go to the bathroom, I could see two bridge tables in the middle of the drawing room. On them lay cameras, watches,clocks, binoculars and silverware that the Red Guards had gathered from all over the house. These were the "valuables" they intended to present to the state.

Mounting the stairs, I was astonished to see several Red Guards taking pieces of my porcelain collection out of their padded boxes. One young man had arranged a set of four Kandxi wine cups in a row on the floor and was stepping on them. I was just in time to hear the crunch of delicate porcelain under the sole of his shoe. The sound pierced my heart.

Impulsively I leapt forward and caught his leg just as he raised his foot to crush the next cup. He toppled, and we fell in a heap together. The boy regained his feet and kicked me right in my chest. I cried out in pain. The others gathered around us, shouting at me angrily for interfering in their revolutionary activities. One of the teachers said to me, "What do you think you are doing? Are you trying to protect your possessions?"

"No, no, you can do whatever you like with my things. But you mustn't break these porcelain treasures. They are old and valuable and cannot be replaced," I said rather breathlessly.

"Shut up! Shut up!" A chorus drowned out my voice.

I picked up one of the remaining wine cups and said, "This is nearly 300 years old. You seem to value the cameras, watches and binoculars, but better cameras, better watches and more powerful binoculars are made every year. No one in this world can make another wine cup like this one again. This is a part of our cultural heritage. Every Chinese should be proud of it."

The young man whose revolutionary work I had interrupted said angrily, "You shut up! These things belong to the old culture. They are the useless toys of the feudal emperors and the modern capitalist class and have no significance to us, the proletarian class. Our Great Leader Chairman Mao taught us, "If we do not destroy, we cannot establish." The old culture must be destroyed to make way for the new socialist culture."

Pleading was not going to move the Red Guards. The time had come to try diplomacy. "Please, Red Guards! Believe me, I'm not opposed to you. But remember, these things were not made by members of the capitalist class; they were made by the workers of a bygone age. I beg you to take them to the Shanghai Museum. You can consult their experts."

A girl said, " The Shanghai Museum is closed. The experts there are being investigated. Some of them are also class enemies. In any case, they are intellectuals. The capitalist class nourishes the intellectuals, so they belong to the same side. Now we are going to destroy the capitalist class, so naturally the intellectuals are to be destroyed too."

Getting really desperate, I said, "Don't you realize all these things are extremely valuable? You can sell them in Hong Kong for a large sum of money. You will be able to finance your world revolution with that money."

Perhaps, being an older person, the teacher felt some sense of respon-sibility. She asked me, "Are you sure you are collection is valuable? How much would you say it is worth?"

"As a rough estimate, at least a million yuan [$500,000 at the 1966 exchange rate]," I told her. The Red Guards were impressed. The teacher was by now anxious to save the treasures, but she was afraid to put herself in the wrong with the Red Guards. They all went to the dining room to confer.

House Arrest

A few days later, there came to my house a slightly built man wear-ing a pair of tinted spectacles. With him came two other men and a woman wearing armbands with the three Chinese characters for "revolutionaries."

"You are the class enemy of this house, guilty of conspiring with foreign powers," the man said. "Do you deny it?"

"Of course I deny it! Who are you? What do you want?"

"We are the Proletarian Revolutionaries."

"I never heard of such a title," I said.

"You are going to hear a lot about us. We are the Revolutionaries who represent the working class, which is the ruling class in China."

The man with the tinted spectacles assumed a severe tone of voice. "Where have you hidden your gold and weapons?"

"What gold and weapons?"

"You know what gold and weapons!"

"I have no gold or weapons. The Red Guards have been here. They did not find any gold or weapons."

"You hid them. Our Great Leader told us that the class enemies are secreting gold and weapons. He can't be wrong."

The Revolutionaries ripped open mattresses, cut the upholstery of the chairs and sofas, removed tiles from the walls of the bathrooms, poked in the fireplace and the chimney, lifted floorboards, climbed onto the roof, fished in the water tank under the ceiling and crawled under the floor.

Darkness had long descended on the city when they decided to dig up the garden. They switched on the terrace lights and started digging. The damp, ash-covered lawn was trampled into a sea of mud; all the flower beds were dug up, and spades were sunk into the earth around the shrubs. They even pulled plants out of their pots. But they found nothing, for nothing was there to be found.

In the end, physical exhaustion got the better of their revolutionary zeal. But they were fuming they had lost face by not finding anything. The man in the tinted glasses was beside himself with rage. His face turned white, and his lips trembled. He raised his arm to strike me.

At that very moment Meiping's cat, Fluffy, tore through the kitchen door, jumped on the man's leg and sank his teeth into the man's calf. Screaming with pain, the man hopped wildly on one leg, trying to shake the cat off. The other also tried to grab Fluffy, but the agile cat ran out of the house and climbed onto his favorite branch of the magnolia tree. From this safe perch, Fluffy looked at us and mewed. The wounded man was almost demented. He dashed to the tree and shook it. Fluffy hopped up to a higher branch, ran onto the roof of my neighbor's house and disappeared into the night.

One of the men said, "You keep a wild animal in the house to attack the Revolutionaries. You will be punished. As for the cat, we will have the neighborhood committee look for it and put to death. You are very much mistaken if you think by making your cat bite us we will give up. We are going to look further for the gold and weapons."

They locked me into the dining room. I resigned myself to the possibility of the total destruction of my home. Pulling three dining chairs together, I lay down on the cushions. I dozed despite the shouting and arguing outside.

At daybreak, a woman Revolutionary said to me, "You are not allowed to go out of the house anymore. The Red Guards will take turns watching you."

I was astonished and angry. I asked her, "What authority have you to keep me confined to the house?"

"I have the authority of the Proletarian Revolutionaries. We are doing you a kindness in putting you under house arrest. A woman like you would be beaten to death outside. Do you know what's going on outside? A full-scale revolution."

Two Red Guards detailed to watch me sat on chairs outside my room. every now and then one of them would open my door to see what I was doing.

My daughter was allowed to live in her own room, but I was not allowed to go in there or to speak to her when she came home, which was seldom; she had to spend more and more nights at the studio taking part in the Cultural Revolution.

The Object of Struggle

In the late afternoon of Sept. 27, I was taken to the same school building I had gone to in July. This time I was the object of the "struggle" meeting, attended not only by the Red Guards and the revolutionaries who had come to my house but also by the former staff of Shell. The man with the tinted spectacles was in charge.

He was quite a fluent speaker. He started with the Opium War of 1840, giving a vivid description of how the invading fleet of Britain bombarded the Chinese coast. He spoke as if it were I who had led the British fleet up the Pearl River. He described Shell as a multinational firm and said that Lenin had stated that such companies were the worst enemies of socialism.

He turned to my family background, telling the audience that I was the descendant of a big landlord family, that my father was a senior official of the pre-Kuomintang government. He said that I went to England and was trained by the British to be "a faithful running dog" in one of their universities. My late husband was described as a "residue of the decadent Kuomintang regime" who was fortunate to have died and escaped judgment by the Revolutionaries. Throughout his speech, the audience shouted slogans; a number accused me of being a "spy."

When he had finished speaking, the Red Guard who had led the others into my home described its "luxury." Another Red Guard told how I had tried to "undermine" their " revolutionary activities" by fighting with them to preserve "old culture." A Revolutionary spoke of my stubborn arrogance and accused me of deliberately keeping a "wild animal" in the house to attack the revolutionaries.

Former employees of Shell were called upon to give evidence against me. I could see how frightened they all were, and I wondered what they must have gone through. The men who got up to speak were white, and their hands holding the prepared statements shook. None looked in my direction.

The man with the tinted spectacles said, "You have listened to the mountain of evidence against you. Your crime against the Chinese people is extremely serious. You can only be reformed by giving a full confession telling us how you conspired with the British imperialists in their scheme to undermine the People's Government. Are you going to confess?"

"I have never done anything against the Chinese people and government. The Shell office was here because the Chinese government wanted it to be here."

Everything I said was drowned by angry shouts and screams of "Confess! Confess!" and "We will not allow a class enemy to argue!" The Red Guards and Revolutionaries crowded around me, shook their fists in my face, pulled at my clothes and spat on my jacket while yelling, "Dirty spy!" "Dirty running dog!" "We will kill you!" They pushed me very hard.

When the noise died down a little, the man in spectacles said, "Our patience is exhausted. You are guilty. We could give you the death penalty. But we want to give you a chance to reform yourself. Are you going to confess?"

Everybody stared at me expectantly. I said nothing.

The man beckoned to a youth at the back of the mob, who came forward with a pair of shiny metal handcuffs, then asked, "Are you going to confess?"

I answered in a calm voice, "I've never done anything against the People's Government. I have no connection with any foreign government."

"Come along!" the young man with the handcuffs said.

Parked in front of the school was a black Jeep.

"Are you going to confess?" the man asked again.

I was silently reciting to myself the 23rd Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want . . . "

"Have you gone dumb?"

"Confess!" They were shouting.

I lifted my head and said in a loud and firm voice, "I'm not guilty! I have nothing to confess."

The young man from the police pulled my arms behind my back and put the handcuffs on my wrists. Then we got into the Jeep and drove off into the dark streets.

Prisoner 1806

The No.1 Detention House, where I was to remain for 6 1/2 years, was the foremost detention house for political prisoners in Shanghai. It was an old establishment where the Kuomintang had once immprisoned Communists. The black Jeep drove through the main gate, along a drive lined by willow trees, then through another gate. I was undressed, searched, photographed, fingerprinted.

"While you are here, you will be known by a number," the man at the entry desk said. "You'll no longer use your name, not even to the guards. Your number is 1806."

I was taken out through another gate and into a two-story building where women prisoners were housed. The guard took me to a cell, then pushed the bolt back with a loud clang.

I looked around the room, and my heart sank. Cobwebs dangled from the ceiling; the once whitewashed walls were yellow with age and streaked with dust. The single naked bulb was coated with grime and extremely dim. Patches of the cement floor were black with dampness. A strong musty smell pervaded the air. I hastened to open the only small window, with its rust-pitted iron bars. When I succeeded in pulling the knob and the window swung open, flakes of peeling as well as a shower of dust fell to the floor. The only furniture in the room was three narrow beds of rough wooden planks, one against the wall, the other two stacked one on top of the other. A cement toilet was built into one corner. Never in my life had I been in or even imagined a place so primitive and filthy.

The guard came back with several sheets of toilet paper of the roughest kind, which she handed to me through a small square window in the door of the cell, saying, "I'll lend you this. When you get your supply, you must return to the government the same number of sheets. Now go to sleep. Lie with your head toward the door. That's the regulation."

I didn't want to touch the dust-covered bed. But I needed to lie down, as my legs were badly swollen. I pulled the bed away from the dirty wall and wiped it with the toilet paper. But the dirt was so deeply ingrained that I could remove only the loose dust. Then I lay down anyhow and closed my eye. The naked bulb hanging from the center of the cell was directly above my head. Though dim, it irritated me. I looked around the cell but could not see a light switch anywhere.

"Please!" I called, knocking on the door. "I can't find the light switch."

"We don't switch off the light at night. In future, when you want to speak to the guards, just say, 'Report.' Don't knock on the door. Don't say anything else."

I lay down again and turned to the dusty wall to avoid the light. Just before daybreak, the electric light in the cell was switched off. In the darkness, the dirt and ugliness of the room disappeared. I could imagine myself elsewhere. During all the years I spent in that prison cell, the short time of darkness after the light was switched off and before daybreak was always a moment when I recovered the dignity of my being and felt a sense of renewal, simply because I had a precious moment of freedom when I was not under the watchful eyes of the guards.

At daybreak, we were awakened by a guard shouting, "Get up! Get up!" The shutter of the small window on the door was pushed open. An oblong aluminum container appeared. A woman's voice said impatiently, "Come over, come over."

When I took the container, she said, "In future, stand here at mealtimes and wait." She also handed me a pair of bamboo chopsticks, wet and worn thin with prolonged usage.

The battered container was three-quarters full of lukewarm watery rice porridge with a few strips of pickled vegetables floating on the top. I wiped the edge of the container with a piece of toilet paper and took a tentative sip. The rice tasted smoky, and the saltiness of the pickled vegetables made it bitter. The food was worse than I could possibly have imagined, but I made a determined effort to drink half of it.

I decided that if I was going to be held here, I could clean out this cell. I found that I was allowed to buy supplies, so I got a washbasin, two enameled mugs for eating and drinking, sewing thread, needles, soap, towels, a toothbrush and toothpaste, and more toilet paper. I washed the bed thoroughly. I climbed onto my rolled-up bedding to wipe the dust-smeared windowpanes so that more light could come in. After I had washed the cement toilet I still had enough cold water left to bathe myself and rinse out my blouse. When hot water for drinking was issued, I drank it with enjoyment. Plain boiled water had never tasted so good.

Many weeks passed. One day merged into another. Prolonged isolation heightened my feeling of depression. I longed for some news of my daughter. I missed her terribly and worried about her constantly. Often I would be so choked with emotion that breathing became difficult.

Struggle Meetings

In the spring of 1969, after nearly three years in prison, I was handcuffed and taken back to that same building where I had watched the crowd "struggle" against Shell's chief accountant, Tao Feng. I was half-thrown, half-dropped onto the floor. One man kept his hand on my head so that I could not look around. The other people in the room were shouting slogans demanding my downfall and destruction.

"Here she is!" shouted the meeting's leader. "We have brought her here so that she will be exposed for what she is. We'll let her see that we know all her secrets." Tao Feng stood up and began speaking in a faltering voice. "I was a spy for the British imperialists.", he said. "I joined the British spy organization through this woman's husband. After he died, this woman became my boss. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, she warned me not to confess and promised me a large sum of money if I would hold out."

I felt I must put a stop to this farce. I jerked my head up and laughed uproariously. There was a moment of stunned silence. The man behind me pushed my head down again. Another man shouted. "What are you laughing at?"

"If you put on a comedy play, you must expect the audience to laugh." I answered.

"Take her out! Take her out!" the young leader yelled. I was dragged out and pushed into the waiting car. A woman Revolutionary kept her hand over my mouth to prevent me from speaking, but I was lighthearted. I thoroughly enjoyed breaking up their carefully planned meeting.

One spring day, I was handcuffed again and taken to a red brick building I had never seen before. Two strong women guards led me into a crowded room and deposited me in front of a microphone opposite the platform. One of them pushed my head down so that I was forced to look at the floor. The audience was shouting slogans and waving Little Red Books.

A man in front of me gave an account of my family background and personal life. Each time my story was recounted I became richer and my way of life more decadent and luxurious. Now the farce reached fantastic proportions. When the speaker told them I was a spy for the imperialists, people jumped up and crowded around me to shout abuse.

Instinctively I raised my head to respond. The women suddenly jerked up my handcuffs. Such sharp pain tore at my shoulder joints that I had to bend forward with my head well down to man's denunciation.

Another man spoke about my "disobedience" to the Communist Party, my refusal to confess. The audience was now even more angry. I was pushed and fell to the floor. The female giants by my side pulled me up with their strong arms.

The people in the audience worked themselves into a state of hysteria. Their shouts drowned out the speaker. Someone pushed me hard from behind. I stumbled and knocked over the microphone. One of the woman tripped over the wires and fell, dragging me by the handcuffs. I fell in an awkward position. My face was pressed on the floor; many others fell on top of us in the confusion. Everybody seemed to be yelling. There was pandemonium. Finally I was pulled up again.

Every few days, I was taken to another struggle meeting. When the audience was very violent, I suffered much. Afterward, I would be asked whether I was ready to confess. I would say, "I have nothing to confess" or "I'm not guilty" or simply remained silent. Then I would be taken to yet another struggle meeting. This "rotating struggle," as it was called, was mindnumbing. Day after day, my ears were filled with the sound of angry, accusing voices, my eyes were blurred by images of hostile faces, and my body ached from physical abuse. I no longer felt like a human being, just an inanimate object.

This series of interrogations lasted nearly seven months, until the end of 1969. Then I was no longer called to the interrogation room. Months passed. The misery of my life in the winter of 1969-70 was beyond imagination. Looking back on those months of heavy snowstorms, intense cold and constant pain, I marvel that I could have lived through it all.

Rations were cut again. Often a small lump of fat rather than meat appeared with my rice. The processed straw toilet paper was replaced by something even coarser, and this also was rationed. In early spring, I again became ill with pneumonia and was taken to the prison hospital. I made a slow recovery, but prolonged hardship and privation were eroding my mental powers in a frightening way. The stalling of my investigation produced in me a deep feeling of despondency.

Manacled

One afternoon in January 1971 I was summoned to the interrogation room once again. The call was so unexpected that my heart was pounding with excitement as I followed the guard. At the door of the interrogation room, the guard suddenly gave me a hard shove. Five more guards crowded around me, shouting abuse at me.

"You are the running dog of the imperialists," said one. "You are a dirty exploiter of workers and peasants," shouted another. "You are a counterrevolutionary," yelled a third.

To show their impatience, they pushed me from one guard to another like a ball in a game. I became dizzy and breathless. A young male guard grabbed the lapels of my padded jacket, pulled me toward him and gave me a hard push. I staggered backward and hit the wall. He did this several times. All the while, the other guards continued to shout at me. My ears were ringing, my head was splitting and my body was trembling.

I collapsed into a chair and closed my eyes. Suddenly a stinging blow landed on my cheek. A female guard shouted, "Are you going to confess?" A sharp blow landed on my other cheek as several voices shouted, "Are you going to confess?"

I kept my eyes closed and ignored them. One of the female guards gave my cheek another smart slap, took my arms and draped them around the back of my chair. Another guard grabbed my wrists and clamped handcuffs on them.

"These handcuffs are to punish you for your intransigence." the female said. "You will wear them until you are ready to confess. Only then will we take them off. If you confess now, we will take them off now. If you confess tomorrow, We will take them off tomorrow. If you do not confess for a year, you will have to wear them for a year. If you never confess, you will have to wear them to your grave."

"What about it?" another male guard said. "Are you ready to confess? Just say yes, and we will take the handcuffs off."

I looked at them all and said in a feeble voice. "I've done nothing wrong. I have nothing to confess."

The militant female guard tightened the handcuffs a few notches. another guard said, "Follow me!"

A blizzard was in full force. the wind nearly knocked me over when I stepped out of the interrogation building.

The guard led me to a small building in a corner of the prison compound, unlocked a small door and said, "Get in!" the room was very dark, I waited for him to switch on the light, but he just closed the door after me. Standing outside, he asked, "Are you going to confess?" When I did not reply, he snapped the lock and went away.

I stood just inside the door in total darkness, trying to make out where I was. An unpleasant odor of staleness and decay assailed me. Gradually I realized that the tiny room had no windows. However, the door fitted badly; a thin thread of light seeped through the gap. When my eyes became accustomed to the darkness, I saw vaguely that there was a wooden board on the dusty floor and a cement toilet in the corner. The room was no more than about five feet square.

The handcuffs felt different. They were much heavier and thicker, with a square edge, not rounded like the others I had worn. My hands felt hot, and my fingers were stiff.

I did not know how long I sat there. In a dark room, in complete isolation. Time assumed a different meaning or had no meaning at all. My legs felt stiff and my head ached.

The night dragged on very slowly. More and more I felt that I was buried in a cement box deep underground. My hands became very hot and uncomfortable. When I found it difficult to curl my fingers into a fist. I knew they were swollen. My hands became my sole preoccupation. I wondered how long I would remain manacled like this and how long I could live without food or water.

When finally I heard the sound of a guard coming through the outside door. I stood up.

"Are you going to confess?" a male guard asked.

"No, it's about my hands. They are badly swollen. Could you loosen the handcuffs a bit?"

"Why don't you confess? If you do, the handcuffs will be taken off."

In the morning, I was taken back to the interrogation room and told to confess. "You deserve all you are getting!" the female guard shouted. "You are tired of living. I have never seen a prisoner as stubborn and stupid as you!"

A guard finally took me back to my regular cell and said to me. "Now you will continue your punishment in here."

Cheng experienced a frightening ordeal. She describes the brutality of the guards with simple words. Her bravura showed her class privilege was a form of social detachment. The behaviour of the guards immediately seemed to betray their own naiveté about what they were supposed to be doing. Clearly, they were puerile clowns driven by their own need for self-preservation. They were inflated like balloons with the inert gas of Mao's meaningless demands. Perhaps the lunacy of the Red Guards is most tragic because their action was empty; people died for the sake of agitation. To have attacked individuals for no more reason than their family backgrounds shows us the intense idiocy of the entire Red Guard movement. Their inhumanity was of the worst kind: profound horror and loss of life resulting from the silliest of political motives. The adrenal gland played a more important role than the brain during this phase of Chinese history.

On March 27, 1973, Nien Cheng left the No. 1 Detention House. A young woman waiting to greet Nien Cheng outside the prison was not her daughter Meiping, as she had hoped. In that moment, Cheng learned Meiping had committed suicide on June 16, 1967, during her first year in prison. After a lengthy investigation, she discovered that her daughter had been abducted and beaten to death by the Red Guards, who, presumably, were trying to force her to denounce her mother.

Compared to other people, Nien Cheng was fortunate in the long run. At a key point during Chines–U. S. trade talks, when China wanted to demonstrate its liberal-mindedness, Cheng seized the opportunity to apply for a passport and get one. She left China in September, 1980. She lived on Ottawa for about three years, and subsequently moved to Washington, D. C., where she now lives.

"In Washington," she says, "I live a full and busy life. Only sometimes I feel a haunting sadness. At dusk, when the day is fading away and my physical energy is at a low ebb, I may find myself depressed and nostalgic. But next morning I invariably wake up with renewed optimism to welcome the day as another God-given opportunity for enlightenment and experience. My only regret is that Meiping is not here with me."

A RED GUARD WHO CAME FROM A WORKING CLASS FAMILY

Today Fei Yang is studying in Canada. He is a doctoral student studying mathematics. In June 1966, he was fifteen years old. He was in the first year of his high school curriculum in the city of Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. Yang served as a rather active member of his school's numerous Red Guard organizations. His combined revolutionary cadre/poor-peasant lineage made him the reddest Red Guard at that time. He belonged to the first Red Guard organization set up in his high school. He was heavily involved in all types of planning and activities related to the Cultural Revolution. He was a good example of blind faith characteristic of some adolescents.

As we shall see in the later paragraphs, his emotions and motivations were representaive of the youthful Red Guards. In retrospect, Yang described their behaviour as "laughable, simply ridiculous." But he added that the Cultural Revolution, chaotic and bloody as it was, provided valuable lessons to the populace, and was necessary for China, especially in light of the 1989 events in Tiananmen Square. "We are no longer so easily led by authorities; we've learned how to analyze, question, and evaluate what is told to us. We lost our innocence and simplicity after the Cultural Revolution."

I Felt Deeply Honored to be a Red Guard

On the morning of August 19,1966, a sensational news story spread everywhere throughout China. Chairman Mao had met with a group of Beijing students in Tiananmen Square on August 18. It was a dramatic declaration of his confidence in youth. We always had seen him high up on the rostrum. But this time he was down among the people, walking right across the Golden Water Bridge to talk with the students. He told them to "get involved in state affairs," and to "carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!" Students from the High School attached to Qinghua University gave him a red armband with three yellow characters written on it in elegant calligraphy–"Red Guard", in Chinese, "Hong Wei Bing".

There was a great rush, almost like a panic to get hold of the newspaper that day. The newspapers printed a picture of Chairman Mao wearing his armband and waving. We students coming from the "red" background family were all excited. With undisguised relief we realized that the Red Guards of Qinghua High School were backed by the highest authority of all. It was up to us to emulate them.

My classmates and I all had been born and raised during the period of Mao's greatest fame. In some cases, his influence exceeded even that of our parents. We studied his writings from the time we learned to read and we tried to implement his ideas. His personality had a profound effect on me on my classmates too I think. The picture of Mao wearing a Red Guard armband and bearing the title of Marshal of the Red Guards really excited us. We could become "Little Red Soldiers." We felt deeply honored to "protect" Chairman Mao.

I believe that bit of news and the visual image of Mao with the High School students sparked revolutionary fervor all over our School. My group, the Five Red students, were so enthusiastic that nothing could have deterred nor dampened our spirits. Xiaobing Chen, whose name means, "little soldier", and whose father was a revolutionary officer in our Province, was our leader and the most active person in our class. He held a meeting with all the Five Red students in our classroom to discuss forming a Red Guard organization of our own. It was decided that we would set up our own Red Guard organization, like Qinghua High School. The first question was, who can join the Red Guard? Xiaobing Chen claimed that only members of the Five Red Categories—worker, poor and lower-middle peasant, revolutionary cadre, revolutionary soldier, and revolutionary martyr—should be allowed to join the Red Guards. He was opposed to accepting any of the Seven Black Categories—landlord, rich peasant, reactionary, bad element, rightist, capitalist, traitor or spy.

Wei Le, who came from a worker's family, did not agree with Chen's opinion. He said, "All of us, including the students who came from "bad" families, had taken part in the movement since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us. And, since none of us could choose our parentage, no one had done anything wrong; we should let everyone join the revolution."

Chen angrily replied, "They might not have done anything wrong themselves, but their parents didn't support the revolution. When our fathers were fighting the Japanese and Guomindang , theirs were hiding and trembling like timid mice! 'A dragon begets dragons, a phoenix begets phoenixes, and a mouse's children can only dig holes.' And Chairman Mao said that everybody living in a class society is stamped with the brand of his class. Who dares to oppose our great leader Chairman Mao's wisdom! We cannot admit them!"

I remember that I agreed with Le's idea at the beginning of their argument. I thought, "Yes, there was nothing wrong with the children. They were born and brought up under the five-star red flag liked us. We all had a socialist education." I also thought the discrimination violated the principles of mass activism we had all learned. But later, when I heard Chen's rebuttal, espcecially when he quoted Chairman Mao's teaching, I even began criticizing myself, "How can I think differently than our great leader Chairman Mao? To oppose his teaching would be like opposing Mao himself. I should stand up to defend Mao Tsetung's Thought in the crucial moment." Eventually I stood up and said, "I agree with Chen's opinion. We should do everything exactly according Chairman Mao's every word. We are "Naturally Red." Our parents won the land by blood. We will protect it with our blood, and I agree that only Five Red may be allowed to become the Red Guard." At last, when we took a vote, our view won out. Forty-two of us became the first group of Red Guards in our school by virtue of our heritage. The first list of new Red Guards was posted for the edification of the whole school.

We needed something to distinguish us from the crowd. We thought about the pictures of the old army uniform worn by the Beijing Red Guards in the newspaper. Before the Cultural Revolution, we saw many films depicting the heroism of the People's Liberation Army. The constant drive to "learn from the army" gave all of us a very good appreciation of soldiers and the military life. For students like us they were front-line heroes. Red Guard organizations like ours were treated as the reserve force of the army. Young people who had never been in the army would try every means to get an old army uniform. Even elderly people who had left the army a long time ago would put on an old uniform as a status symbol.

The next day, most of us wore old army uniforms and we all wore red armbands like the Red Guards in Beijing. Chen helped me to get a very old and big army uniform and I put it on happily. Although the uniform had no collar insignia, it looked wonderful to me. I was proud of my membership in the Red Guard organization, and I felt superior to those who were not Red Guards. That feeling seemed to put me head and shoulders above others. Everywhere, I felt that people looked up at us with respect, admiration, and awe. Everyone was fascinated and eager to join. At that time it was truly an honorable position to be a Red Guard. I felt deeply honored to be a Red Guard.

Loyal to Chairman Mao

In only two to three days the Red Guard organizations in our city sprung up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. Red Guards were everywhere. Our enthusiasm at that time reached its height. That feeling was great! We dared to speak, dared to act—it was wonderful and exhilirating! I had never felt like that before. All this, I thought, was because of our great leader Chairman Mao. I constantly expressed my utter devotion and loyalty to him. I carried the little red book Quotations from Chairman Mao all the time, and I pinned a badge button with Chairman Mao's likeness on my chest, convinced that Chairman Mao's radiance was burning into me.

Everyone vied with each other to express their wholehearted devotion to Chairman Mao. Portraits of Chairman Mao were put up on walls everywhere. We were sure our great leader Chairman Mao was with us all the time, everywhere. Thousands of posters inscribed with quotations from Mao Tsetung were pasted-up throughout the school. Posters covered the walls of the dinning hall, offices, corridors and classrooms; My roommates and I mounted quotations from Mao on our desks, even above our beds.

On the wall at the head of my bed was a photograph of Chairman Mao and his poem, "Swimming." I still remenber some lines I especially liked:

Heedless of blowing winds and surging waves,
I tread the water as if strolling in a quiet courtyard...
Were the goddess still in good health,
She would be amazed by all the changes in the world.

I had cut the poem from the front page of the People's Daily. Chairman Mao was dressed in a robe, standing aboard a boat and waving his hand. We all thought it was a message to us young people from Him. He called on us to temper ourselves within the great winds and waves of class struggle. To me, the picture symbolized revolutionary heroism. Each morning when I saw the picture I felt very encouraged and more resolved to follow the great helmsman, the great teacher, the great Commander, and the great leader Chairman Mao my whole life.

The entire school was thrown into a state of round-the-clock meetings, large and small. We discussed what we should do in the Cultural Revolution and how we could best apply the teachings of Chairman Mao. No matter which meeting, we would study Chairman Mao's words first, then sing everyone's favorite song about Chairman Mao:

Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman,
All things on earth depend on the sun;
Moistened by rain and dew, young crops grow strong,
To make revolution, we must rely on Mao Tsetung Thought;
Fish cannot leave water, nor can melons leave vines,
The revolutionary masses cannot leave the Party,
To make revolution, we must rely on Mao Tsetung Thought!

Every time when I sang the odes that praised Chairman Mao, I truly felt a deep love and faith for the great leader. He was the sun which never set in my mind. I was inspired by the frightening spirit of these songs.

Smashing the Four Olds

The People's Daily had called on us to "Sweep Away All Ox Ghosts and Snake Spirits!" and announce that "We Are Critics of the Old World!" Party voice and Chairman Mao's support worked us up to hysteria like a shot of adrenaline. We screamed at the top of our voices: "To rebel is justified!", and rushed ahead to destroy the Four Olds. This imperial edict came from Chairman Mao's teaching:

> Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, "It is right to rebel." For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.
>
> –From a speech at the Rally of People of All Walks of Life in Yenan to Celebrate the Sixtieth Birthday of Stalin

Because the slogan, "It is right to rebel" typifies Marxism, we could do anything to fight, to struggle, and to rebel for socialism and revolution. In our view, we were heroes stepping on the whole old world, destroying the old world and building a new proletarian world. Because we had the great invincible Mao Tsetung's Thought as our weapon, we thought we had an indomitable spirit that could sweep away all obstacles. We smashed the Four Olds with one great mind.

We were not satisfied with our achievements to organize the struggle meetings and parades within the school, so we set out to destroy the Four Olds in the city. It was August 22, 1966 when we arrived downtown; it seemed every school's Red Guards were out on the streets. We, little soldiers, looked valiant and spirited. We congratulated each other, asked what had to be done, and where we could find the "class enemies."

We set up a checkpoint at Beijing Road, the city's main intersection. We stopped buses and punished passengers who wore inappropriate clothing. We checked for tight pants; if there was not enough room for a wine bottle to drop down to the cuff, we would slit the legs up to the thigh. Long hair was another old thing, so we made any woman with long or permed hair get it cut before she could go through. If anyone showed any resistance, we attacked him, sometimes physically. After a few attacks, no one else resisted.

We also closed down all joint state-private stores, including barbers, fashion stores, handicraft shops and some restaurants. We considered them bourgeois, feudal spawns. Whenever we ordered a place closed, the manager obeyed. Nobody dared to refuse our requests. We pasted up some posters denouncing the bourgeois lifestyle. We sealed the doors with a big X made of two paper strips. On these we wrote, "Closed by the revolutionary Red Guards." Looking at the sealed door, I felt pleased. It was so easy to accomplish things then.

As each day advanced we were deep in the midst of destroying the Four Olds. We went to the Six Banyan Temple, a famous temple in Guangzhou. We were like an army of Monkey Kings eager to wreak havoc before heaven. We waved the big sticks at all Buddhist idols and the shrines for idols of the ancestral tablets. The whole Temple fell like fallen flowers and we were carried away by the flowing water of the Revolution. We tied up all the Buddhist monks and nuns and put them in a corner. Our object was to humiliate them as much as we could.

We went to destroy the Four Olds in various locations, giving high priority to the Seven Black Elements. We went to the area police station first, and the police authorities were very cooperative. They had probably been ordered to assist the Red Guards in every way by the provincial Party authorities. They gave us records which helped us to locate our targets. We went across the street, searching the houses of one Black Element family after another from top to bottom. We searched each house individually for old things. Anything we thought did not correspond to the "socialist base," we destroyed, including vases, statues and the religious articles. Sometimes we confiscated large items like furniture that was decorated in the traditional way, for it was hard to smash them. We also took all foreign-made items like radios, sewing machines, clocks, blankets, clothes, as well as jewelry, scrolls and even books that had been published before the Liberation in 1949.

Because we were afraid that landlords, counter-revolutionaries, or spies would hide things, we searched their houses very thoroughly. Some of us would tear down the walls and look behind the plaster, while others seized shovels and picks and tore up the cellars looking for hidden items. Whenever we found someone who had a long record of counter-revolutionary offenses, we dragged him into the street, placed a dunce cap on his head and draped a plaque around his neck bearing his name and a list of his crimes. All the other Black Elements on the street were forced to watch while we struggled against him. Frequently, we chose people of good class background and encouraged them to add to the list of crimesagainst the person. They always had something to say. We showed no mercy to anyone during these activities. I knew that all the Black Elements were very frightened.

After only five days, it was difficult to find any evidence of the Four Olds. On the streets, tight-fitting jeans, pointed shoes, coats and ties, long or permed hair had been completely replaced by short hair, cotton jackets trousers and cloth shoes. All clothing was either black or blue. I felt as proud as one would after a thorough "house cleaning."Each day when we finished the "big mopping-up", we returned to school and sang the "Song of the Red Guards", composed by our comrades in Beijing:

> We are Chairman Mao's Red Guards,
> Tempering ourselves in great waves and winds;
> Armed with Mao Tsetung's Thought,
> We'll wipe out all pests and vermin.

Our sense of pride made us feel like victorious soldiers returning from the front with our booty.

But, thinking back to those days, even though I thought of the Black Elements as counter-revolutionaries and class enemies, I had no feeling of personal hatred for them as individuals. In truth, this part of the movement was, in some ways, the most fun of all. We were free to do as we pleased, nobody checked on us, and we controlled ourselves. We really felt like adults, for the first time in our lives. I thought that what we were doing was important, so I enjoyed myself fully. It was a great deal of fun!

Some Thoughts About the Cultural Revolution

The days where every day was like a holiday were short. When we finished our historical task, we were all sent to impoverished hamlets or factories to be re-educated by farmers and workers. We followed Chairman Mao's calling. I was sent to a small, poor village in the northern mountain of our Province, where I remained for nine years. I tasted the bitterness of life and had a plenty of time to rethink what we had done during that strange movement. Although my family was relatively untouched by the political chaos of the times, I still learned a great deal, as much as those who suffered. I think we all learned something from it and matured through it. That's why, even though it was a painful experience, it was also an invaluable one.

At the beginning of Cultural Revolution, I was deeply honored to be a Red Guard. I was swept up by the ideological hysteria of the times, like many youngsters, I listened to Chairman Mao's teaching and joined the Cultural Revolution with the sincere belief that I was demonstrating my absolute dedication to the revolution. But now, I feel ashamed for what I did as a Red Guard. I regret even more the manipulation we were subjected to during the political struggles.

Today, after reflecting on the events of that decade, I feel the Cultural Revolution was more than just a civil war which caused bloodshed and suffering to the Chinese people. Some good did come from the Revolution.

The first good I think is that the Cultural Revolution strongly criticized the old educational system. The old system worked to inculcate a bourgeois and revisionist mentality because it one-sidedly stressed academic achievement and high professional standards. In the old educational system, students were being trained to be more concerned about their individual advancement, at the expense of the public good. Students were mainly receiving a book knowledge, which was often divorced from Chinese reality. Because the former administration had greatly reduced student involvement in work-projects in factories and communes, most students felt they were inadequately prepared to help solve the practical problems of country development. In my opinion, some of Mao's ideas about educational revolution, like "education should be revolutionized," and "education should be related to reality" still has significance today.

I think the second good is an important one. The Cultural Revolution widened the Chinese people's experience. They learned so many things hitherto unknown to them. People have raised their level of consciousness and deepened their ideological understanding. Before the Cultural Revolution, and at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, most Chinese people, myself included, used to worship Mao naively. We thought that he was not a man; he was a Sun God. We even called him the Red Sun who arose at Shao Shan. Every word he spoke became a "supreme directive" studied by seven hundred million people. But the Cultural Revolution enabled people to see Mao in a new light, to see who he really was. We are no longer so easily led by authorities; we have learned how to analyze, question, and evaluate what is told to us. We lost our innocence and simplicity after the Cultural revolution. The recent struggle with the Chinese Government for democratic reforms at Tiananmen Square is a good example. Just think: without the Cultural Revolution, China would probably still be moving at a snail's pace on the Soviet road. From this point of view then, I think the Cultural Revolution was necessary for China, both for her current reform and for her future development.

A WITNESS
WHO CAME FROM A WORKING CLASS FAMILY

Liang Dong, born in Henan, is one of the pure working class because his grandfather was a farmer, and his father was a worker. They lived a very poor, hard life before the Liberation. According to a Chinese saying, "He is one of the right people for the Communist Party to rely on."

Although Dong had the right origins, he still had some "historical background" problem because his grandfather had been elected village head before Liberation. During the Japanese occupation, a village head was the same as a "Baochang" in the Baojia system, a neighborhood administrative system organized on the basis of households through which the Japanese regime enforced its rule at the primary level. That meant Dong's grandfather had served the Japanese. Because of this relationship, Dong and his father suffered during the Cultural Revolution.

During the Cultural Revolution, Dong was both a participant and an observer. As a result, the Revolution left a deep impressions on him and he is thinking about the political and educational system in China, especially about the "Ultra-Left" thinking. His recollections help us to understand the cause of the Cultural Revolution.

Family Background and Education

I am Henanese. Because My father went to work in the south of the country when I was only six years old, my whole family moved to Hunan, Mao's home province. There, I was educated and later participated in the Cultural Revolution.

Before Liberation, my grandfather was very poor. He was a farmer. During 1948, a famine resulted from crop failures. My mother carried my elder sister and went begging, like many other people in our village. Later when my mother arrived in Taiyuan, Shansi province, I was born. People like us, in such a desperate situation, owed very much to the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Before Liberation we had no land, no food, no clothes, and no rights and had to live as beggers. After Liberation, everything changed. Poor and lower-middle peasants became masters in the People's Commune. We had power and a life which was new to us.

As a child, I was educated in the traditional, confucianist feudal system: that is, "father and son, emperor and minister." My grandfather and parents told me I must obey elders at home and the teachers in school. I have heeded what my elders or superiors said since my childhood. I was a "three-goods student" and usually received good marks in school. I thought then that the traditional educational system in China was right.

I Began to be Shocked

It seemed reasonable that a person like me, with a working class, peasant background, should feel superior to people of other class badkgrounds. Very soon I realized that a good origin did not mean everything was going to be fine. Since my grandfather was the only person in the village who was educated, he was elected the head of their village. That position was the same as being "Baochang" during Japanese occupation. It meant that he was a "running dog" serving the Japanese. This became a serious problem for all of us during the Communist period. I still remember one night in 1957, during the "Anti-Rightist" movement; my father and my mother burst into tears after talking in their room. Later, I learned from my mother that my father had troubles during this movement, and that he had to make a clean breast of grandfather's guilt as a Baochang in public at his factory. My parents were very worried. It seemed that the same political problems could happen among people who were originally farmers and workers.

During the Cultural revolution, I could not join the Red Guards. The first reason was my grandfather's historical problem. The second reason was because I was named the "Anti-Party's food policy". It was really funny to be considered an "Anti-Party"element when I was only thirteen years old! My parents were very surprised and angry. They went to school to talk to my teacher. Teacher Li, a very "Left" young man, had given me that name because I had said that I felt hungry in our class. At that time, our country was in dire financial straits. Everyone was having a hard time. Few people had enough food to eat and most felt hungry. I simply spoke the fact. I was angry and wondered why I could not tell the truth.

I was nineteen years old and studying in Hunan Shangtang Second High School, a key school in our Province when the Cultural Revolution began. It was 1966 and the "Sixteen Points" had been published. At first, I did not quite understand what it meant. I thought maybe it was just an ordinary political movement. Later on, I realized that it was not ordinary. Because Chairman Mao put up his first Big Character Poster, "Bombard the Headquarters!" my classmates and I guessed that the target was Chairman Liu. Soon, Liu was named China's Khrushchev. I realized this movement was not so simple.

At the beginning of the movement, class struggle focussed on the idea, "the father a hero, the son a brave man, the father reactionary, the son a bad egg" (like father like son), which resulted in people who came from "bad" class origins keeping their heads low. I was not a person the Communist Party could rely on. The Party demanded that we should be loyal to our great leader Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. We should do whatever our supervisor told us to do or whatever the newspaper and radio told us to do without question.

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, we criticized the Three Family Village, wrote Big Character posters, held demonstrations, detroyed the Four Olds, and set up the Red Teenagers Organization. At first, the Big Character posters were aimed at ordinary teachers rather than at leaders. Later, some people among the leadership were also criticized. Some classmates and I did not agree with these. Once, at a meeting criticizing some teachers who were considered to be bourgeois authorities, we went out and wrote some Big Character posters expressing our disagreement with the critics. It was a serious act and the whole school was buzzing. I was criticized as being an "Anti-Cultural Revolutionary." I acquired yet another criminal name.

"Left" Was Better than "Right"

As soon as the Cultural Revolution began, a lot of extraordinary things happened. "Extreme-revolution" and "Ultra-Left thought" swept across China.

Why did these mad movements arise at this time? There were many historical reasons. To the Chinese, the traditional practice within the Party of criticizing "right" mistakes instead of "left" ones created an atmosphere where "left" seemed better than "right." The "left" tendency sought the complete destruction of everything that constituted authority, opposed and overthrew everything while it stressed the consolidation of the proletarian dictatership at the same time. The growth of the "left" deviationist trend created ideal conditions for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and other careerists and conspirators. All of these factors, while exerting an influence on the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution," were only derivatives of the serious "left" deviationist mistakes in the guiding thought.

In order to demonstrate that they were more "left" and "revolutionary" than others, they inspired awe by upholding "justice," and by launching an all-out attack against all class enemies. I saw many teachers badly beaten at the criticism meetings. Teacher Lao, a history teacher, was beaten to death, because he was once a Major General in the Guomindang army before Liberation. I felt sick when I saw him rolling on the ground.

When I was in Grade ten in a senior high school, I saw a teacher commit suicide because of a "Four Clean-up" political movement. During the Cultural Revolution, more and more teachers died for unknown reasons. I did not understand how their lives had become so unworthy. Now, I realize that some of them were not able to bear the injustice and swallow the gross insults. To them, committing suicide was the only way to rebel.

In 1966, when the Cultural Revolution began, people whose origins were "bad" suffered the most; I was told that a lot of landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, and Rightists had been killed. In Tao County of Hunan Province, where I lived, so many people were killed that the Tao River became blood red. It was really terrible. I thought, how could the people be killed so easily, like chickens?

I sympathized with the Black Seven Categories in their misfortune and suffering. While working in a factory, I met an old worker who was a really nice man, but was fired and sent to the countryside. This was done because his wife was originally from a landlord's family. I thought they had been treated unfairly. As I knew, that they worked most diligently and were law-abiding.

Although I disagreed with these happenings there was nothing I could do about it. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, I was almost named as an "Anti-Cultural Revolution." Therefore, I had to keep all these disagreements in my own mind.

I think that the Left was responsible for emphasizing the class struggle. The people were artificially divided into different groups. This not only hurt the "bad" origin people, but it hurt the "good" origin people too. After many years, most former Red Guards feel guilty and ashamed of their actions in the Cultrual Revolution, trying to understand what became of their hearts in those special, mad times.

The Cultural Revolution was a Break Out from the Depressive Psychology Of the Masses

The Cultural Revolution was not an accident. The Cultural Revolution was the first opportunity for common people to demonstrate their anger against many years of oppression since the Chinese Communist Party came to power. We say that Mao wanted to achieve his political aim through the Cultural Revolution. However, without basic support from the masses, Mao would not have succeeded.

During the Cultural Revolution, I witnessed the masses fighting against the leadership. These actions were only an expression of a specific psychology. For many years, under the yoke of political repression, the Chinese people were forced to hide their resentment. Just as the cadres, Communist Party members and the Communist League members were chanting "revolutionary slogans," and singing "revolutionary songs," many people, in fear and trepidation also talked and acted against their free will. In order to survive, both in political and in economic terms, many people externalized behaviour so as to remain politically safe. Most of them displayed a veneer of ideology which got them through most crises. Still, that veneer was, and is thin. One suspects that it could easily be removed or altered if the political line was to shift again.

In general, more than twenty-five years after Liberation, people still could not speak the truth and demand freedom and democracy. The Cultural Revolution provided a wonderful opportunity for them to cry out in resentment and anger which had been locked in their minds for a long time. During the Cultural Revolution they could do anything they wanted to do and could say anything they wanted , so long as they shouted revolutionary slogans loudly and slipped on a revolutionary coat as they shouted. There is a Chinese saying, "To fight against the red flag with the red flag."

The Cultural Revolution met the needs of the Chinese people's psychology. This explains why it was possible for a large number of Chinese people to take advantage of the revolutionary movement Mao launched in May 1966.

A RED GUARD
WHO CAME FROM AN INTELLECTUAL FAMILY

Jian Wu, a southern Chinese, lived in the Northern province of Heilongjiang. Wu's father was an engineer, and his mother was a High School teacher. He was fourteen and in the Junior High School as the Cultural Revolution started in 1966. Because Wu's grandfather was a poor peasant, Wu was able to become an active Red Guard. However, as the movement went on, Wu's parents became the target of the Red Guards because Wu's grandfather went to live in the United States before 1949. Moreover, his parent's intellectual status, as teacher and engineer was also deemed bad. In the course of the Revolution, Wu experienced an initial enthusiasm which later became a deep despair.

During the interview, Wu attempted to explain how and why he joined the Red Guards rather than merely describe his participation in the historic activities. His interview is rather unique because many of the questions he raised demanded that both the interviewer and interviewee look more deeply for answers.

I was Immersed in the Communist Education

Like all other Chinese children, I received a Communist education from the time I began to read and write and this "brainwashing" from of education affected myself, and other Chinese youth profoundly. It is not an exaggeration to say politics was the center of our lives. Our texts, songs, movies, radio, and television were filled with Chairman Mao's words; we learned from model heroes, soldiers, workers, and peasants. We did everything according to the Chinese Communist Party teachings and Chairman Mao's words. Many years of this unilateral education made me belive that Chairman Mao was the greatest leader in the world. Communism had achieved the most ideal society in human history, and it seemed that the Chinese Communist Party was the most brilliant and correct Party in the world.

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, although I did not know its real meaning and lacked any idea of what was to come, I believed that if Chairman Mao thought it was neccessary to have a cultural revolution, then it must have been true. Because I considered everything Chairman Mao said as sacrosanct, I participated actively in the Cultural Revolution believing that it was my sacred, inviolable duty.

Chairman Mao's bidding was so sacrosant that anyone who disagreed or disobeyed would certainly face terrible consequences. One of my political teachers, Huang Daihua, was one such person. One day, prior to the Revolution, we had a class discussion about "one divides into two", meaning that everything in the world can be split into good and bad, correct and wrong. One of my classmates asked Teacher Huang a question: "If Chairman Mao said anything in the world can be divided into two sides, do you think Mao Tsetung's Thought can be subject to the 'one divided into two', too?" Teacher Huang answered, " Yes! Of course." At that time, no one thought much of her reply. Later, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, those very same classmates attacked Teacher Huang because she had dared to say that Mao Tsetung's words could be bad.

Almost all the teachers were criticized and in trouble. Lin Feng, the Dean of Studies was ferreted out because he had made strict demands on students, and had rigorously enforced the rules and regulations. Chairman Mao had said that students should be given more leeway to develop their own thoughts. He was against the militant application of rules and regulations.

Some outsiders might have thought that the students' actions were more vindictive and retaliatory than political. As I recall though, most of the students' actions were not so cruelly motivated. We believed that we were defending the proletarian revolution along with Mao Tsetung.

Peer pressure was another motivating force during the Cultural Revolution. I wrote two Big Character posters about my music teacher and my Chinese teacher, despite the fact that I was very fond of both of them. Big posters denouncing teachers were all over the place, and I felt that unless I drew my own Big Character posters, I was not participating actively in the Cultural Revolution. I wrote a long poster criticizing the way Teacher Lin had praised my works. I remarked that my Chinese language composition had high potentials. I criticized him that he had a bourgeoisie standpoint because he had encouraged me to strive selfishly for personal gain, instead of learning from workers and peasants.

Later, I felt very guilty about my actions because I knew Teacher Lin was a good teacher who had loved his students and had guided them to study hard. He was a good friend to the students and he was kind to me. His happiness about my progress was sincere. At that time, however, I put the principle of revolution above everything else. I forced myself to do everything that was good for the revolution, even if it was not good for my teacher or myself. Teacher Lin died during the Cultural Revolution. I am not sure why, but it made me feel even more remorseful for what I had done to him. The internal and external conflicts that the Revolution produced were without.

Something Just Right Fell In With the Wishes of the Chinese People

Today, most of us think that the Cultural Revolution was a big disaster, an ignorant and ridiculous political movement. However, a significant question remains: How could such a mass of humanity be aroused to participate in the Cultural Revolution?

The common answers focus on Chairman Mao's personal hold on the people. Extensive communist "brain washing" permeated each fibre of the society. These answers seem adequate when we talk in general terms, but speaking on a personal level, the Cultural Revolution could not have happened at a better time for me as a student.

I was not a good student, although my mother was a teacher in school. To make matters worse, my parents had high expections of me. I did not study very hard because I thought that what we learned in the classroom was boring and useless. I did not think one's marks could be equated with one's ability. I spent most of my spare time pursuing my favored interests like music, arts, reading novels and popular science books. I did not like classes and I hated exams. Often, I dreamed that our exams were cancelled and done away with forever. With the onset of the Cultural Revolution, my dream came true.

The night before my entrance exam for senior high school my parents had forced me to go to bed early to get a good rest. I jumped from my bed when I heard a radio broadcast. It concerned a letter to Chairman Mao written by a group of High School students in Beijing. The letter denounced the exam system as a suppressive tool strangling the students' abilities to analyze and solve problems. Chairman Mao's comment on the letter was: "Right! The exam system will be cancelled forever."

The next morning as I went back to school, the atmosphere was like that of a holiday, especially after reading the Big Character Poster of "Chairman Mao's Conversations with his niece, Wang Haijung." After I read the poster, I felt that Chairman Mao had expressed exactly the students' feelings. I still remember some of the words, more or less, which rang so true for me then:

> Do your teachers allow the students to take a nap or read fiction in class? We should let the students read fiction and take a nap in class, and we should look after their health. Teachers should lecture less and make the students read more. I believe the student you referred to will be very capable in the future since he had the courage to be absent from the Saturday meeting and did not return to school on time on Sunday.
>
> ...
>
> Don't care about the system. Just don't return to school Just say you want to violate the school system.
>
> ...
>
> The school should allow the students to rebel. Rebel when you return to school.
>
> (See Appendix D)

Another problem which had developed and had been growing worse in the 25 years since Liberation, was the relationship between the cadres and the masses. Undoubtedly there were some outstanding people—genuine revolutionaries, upright,.honest, and talented people devoted to serving the nation—among the Chinese Communist cadres. However, as some of them rose in position and salary, they became conceited and put on airs. They no longer consulted the masses, and treated them in an unequal and undemocratic way. Frequently abusing the masses, the cadres became severely divorced from them. The masses resented those cadres who appeared sanctimonious and acted as if they were born instructors.

During the storms of the Cultural Revolution, people unmasked the cadres. They exposed how some sought power, and organized cliques to pursue selfish interests. Other cadres practiced sectarianism to squeeze others out of power. Yet others advocated austerity while they enjoyed top positions, and lived in luxury, with money flowing through their hands like water. The priveleged took expensive medicines like ginseng and bird's nest, owned their own Toyota, quality furniture, and expensive clothing from Hong Kong. Desiring a long life, those who could afford it injected anti-aging serum, bone-marrow extracted from young people. While teaching people to resist the influence of bourgeois culture, the cadres read pornographic books and magazines and watched exclusively imported X-rated movies. Some cadres molested, raped, and seduced women.

Many cadres spent the whole day in leisure, excusing themselves from office duties by having their secretaries do all the work. Some never studied, refused to read newspapers, and were ignorant; still, they liked to show off their power by ordering people around, only to mess things up by giving the wrong instructions. Other cadres acted like overlords, listening only to praise and turning a deaf ear to criticism. Anyone contradicting them was punished. It was common for the cadres to stand high, neglecting the people they were supposed to serve. The masses' resentment, ordinarily buried, exploded during the Cultural Revolution. The cadres were engulfed by the wave of popular wrath.

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Mao satisfied the people's needs because everything he said tallied with certain social inclinations. Although Mao originally launched the movement to purge only the adherents of Liu Shaoqi in the central, provincial, and municipal branches of government, the mass revolution got out of hand. Non-Liu adherents, as well as large numbers of middle and lower echelon cadres became implicated.

The Need to Rebel and Confront of Chinese Adolescents

Feudalism in China has had a long history, extending back more than 2,000 years. Throughout this long period, generations of Chinese people lived under extremely autocratic feudal rulers. The people were ideologically shackled and spiritually enslaved. Chinese adolescents typified the experience of the whole society. Their thoughts and behaviors were always more fettered and restrained.

In China, the formula for education was oppression. Traditionally, adults knew what was right and wrong and the children did not. When adults asked that something be done in a certain way, the children were required to obey. In the larger society, similar rules applied. The children were required to obey the rules and instructions of other adults. At home, they had to listen to admonitions and respect their parents and all elder members of the family. At school, they had to adhere to the teachers' advice and practice self-discipline. Some teachers, in order to show their authority, forced unwilling students to conform to the oppressive educational pattern. I truly believe that fear of unknown consequences made many students put on a façade of social submissiveness while inwardly feeling defiant. It is painful to be caught between fear and defiance. This may explain why so many Big Character posters at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution exposed teachers' oppression and punishment of the students in the classroom. Through the writing of posters, the young people had a chance to express the internal resentment they felt.

I remember the harsh and sadistic Dean Lin. My first morning in the school did not start very well. Dean Lin flew into a rage when he saw me jump from the top steps to the ground floor. He yelled and lectured me in the hallway. He shouted at me again as he saw me reading the last chapter, not the first, as all the other students were doing. He made me stand up and mecilessly ridiculed me in front of the whole class: "What a smart student you are! You don't actually need any teacher to teach you at all because you are clever enough to read the last chapter first, with the same kind of speed you used to jump down to the floor instead of going step by step!" I still remember the shame of being lectured in front of all my classmates over such trivial matters. Even now I feel that some teachers like Dean Lin get carried away with their teaching duties, getting off on an ego trip and feeding on the supervisory power naturally assigned to teachers.

Where there was oppression, there was resentment. The Cultural Revolution provided a wonderful chance for students to release their resentment. This was a belated explosion of resentment towards not only the external authority of teachers, parents and society, but also towards our own inner authority of traditional customs and values to which we had hitherto been a slave. Our rebellion was agitated and encouraged by our great leader Chairman Mao. All our rebellious needs could be satisfied in this political movement. I thought this inherent dissatisfaction with society was one of the reasons why so many adolescents were so easily aroused in such a short time at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

A Dream of Being A Hero

Ever since I had been a little boy, I had always had this dream of being a hero because I had read and heard so much from the texts, songs, movies, and novels about different heroes. I was encouraged inspired by the stories of Dong Chunrui and Hung Jiguang. They were soldiers who dedicated themselves to explode enemy pillboxes during the War of Liberation and the Korean War. They were honored as revolutionary heroes. After Liberation, their heroic deeds were publicized and taught in schools, and there was a nationwide movement to learn from their selflessness and devotion to the revolution.

I often used to mention to some friends my regret for not being born during the revolution because then I would have become a hero, like Dong Chunrui and Huang Jiguang. Then I would be praised and studied by the whole country. All my friends had the same thoughts. We all regretted having missed the chance to make full use of our wholehearted devotion and abilities for revolution.

Suddenly, the Cultural Revolution offered us a golden opportunity to show our utter devotion for revolution and fully display our talents. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, all propaganda machines said our Red Guards were the hope of our country during the life and death struggle of the Party and our country.

We were really pumped with enthusiasm to join the Red Guards, especially after Chairman Mao received and reviewed the Red Guards on the rostrum at Tiananmen eight times between August 18 and November 25. The Red Guards were praised to the skies by political propaganda publicized in newspapers, magazines, and movies, and on readio and television. Chairman Mao called on us to "bombard the headquarters" of "Party power holders who take the capitalist road." We really felt we were integral in the saving of the Chinese Revolution, and in the fight for the ultimate and absolute victory of Chairman Mao's correct revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao was well aware of the utility of our youthfulness. We were so young and naive and attracted to heroism that we all worshipped Mao, and were willing to charge forward on his behalf. As a result, we became the vanguard for instigating a mass movement. Chairman Mao not only allowed young students to suspend classes for the sake of the Revolution, but also provided us with free trips to Beijing and other places to exchange revolutionary experiences. We could do anything we wanted to do, and say anything we wanted to say. I felt like a Superman in the real world. Chairman Mao's support and praise for us, liked a cardiac stimulant, worked us up. We wanted to dedicate our lives to the revolution.

In late 1966 and in 1967 the focus of activities shifted increasingly away from attacks on the school's "power holders" to outside activities. Increasing amounts of time were spent away from school in various activities: raiding private houses to destroy the Four Olds, traveling to Beijing to exchange revolutionary experiences, visiting nearby factories, and joining factional allies in the battle between the factions of "rebels" and "conservatives." In the factional struggle, each faction felt that they were ideologically correct, while its opponents were governed by hypocritical and selfish motives. Each faction declared themselves to be defending Chairman Mao. In our city of Harbin, the two factions spread the lie that the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements were behind the opposite faction, and so it was necessary to get rid of them. That led to large-scale killing of these four types of people. The killings were done in extremely brutal ways, by hacking, bayoneting, hanging, burying alive, decapitating by spades or shovels, or by throwing people into the river in sacks. This factional fighting was often glorified by many Red Guard who willingly sacrificed themselves at the same time. It is not difficult to understand why so many youths dedicated themselves to the Cultural Revolution at that time. Even up to the last minute in their young lives, these Red Guards truly believed that they would die a heroic death in the battlefield, liked the heroes Dong Chunrui and Huang Jiguang.

The Change Of Heart

It was faith and passion that led many students to play what I now call "the role of the cat's paw" in the Cultural Revolution. I sincerely believed that joining the Red Guards, shouting some slogans, and ridding society of the Four Olds, would change the world.

My parents were intellectuals, both of them having graduated from the university of an old society. During the Cultural Revolution, they were called "bourgeois intellectuals." As Chairman Mao wrote:

> In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.(Mao Tsetung, "On Practice", July 1937)

In Mao's view, the intellectual interpretation of phenomena is seen through the eyes of this or that class; the world is coloured by their upbringing, education, world outlook and source of employment. In the old societies, everyone worked in the interest of the bourgeoisie; therefore, because of this influence, the elders were bourgeois intellectuals. In Mao's new society, the intellectuals should be the objects of thought reform.

My grandfather's poor peasant background gave my parents a brief respite from the Red Guards at the beginning. In a short time, however, my parents seemed to be on pins and needles, knowing that the Red Guards were going to punish them for their relationship with grandfather who was then overseas. Every day was drawn out and filled with much tension, and my parents were troubled with unending anxiety about their inevitable punishment.

Before long the Guards arrived, and all our old photos and old clothing were burned in front of our eyes. All the high heeled shoes and the utensils, (even a fork with "made in USA" stamped on it) were thrown away at midnight. Pressures at school made me feel very depressed and discontented. I did not understand how the Guards could forget our poor peasant background and emphasize only our overseas Chinese connection. Because there were so few contacts with the outside world in northern China, having a relation overseas meant that you were suspected of being a spy. All the initial enthusiasm, zeal, and potential I had felt quickly dimmed and left me feeling inferior. There could be no more bright future for me. I found that in politics, not only is the line between good and bad thin, it can also be moved.

Two years later, almost all the Red Guards and other students were sent to the countryside and factories to be re-educated by poor and lower-middle peasants and workers. I was settled in a small stockaded village in northern Heilongjiang, there, people were still having trouble making ends meet. I came down to earth with a big bump. Living in those tough conditions, I learned to rely on myself completely. I came to see the real life of the country people. The hardships my family experienced during the Cultural Revolution had made me weary of politics. But throughout the experience, I questioned things, too. I am now more concerned about the country and I believe that the Chinese people understands that their fate is tied up with the country's fate, so whatever happens to the country happens to them. Ironically, such questions gave me a more realistic understanding and attitude towards my larger society. Consequently, my ability to think independently developed. Living, as I do, in Canada, also gives me the perspective needed for clearer vision.

Today, the Cultural Revolution is a page in history. For us as students, it was a long and expensive schooling. We learned the disastrous lessons of twisted politics. We also lost much of our naiveté. Like many other Chinese "old youth", I carry my nightmarish past with me and it constantly reminds me of how much time I lost while I was involved with the madness of the Red Guards, and of how time and progress were turned back for China. I try to compensate and heal the wounds by working hard and learning as much as I can in Canada. As for my fellow countrymen who are still in China, I hope that they too have become enlightened so that they can prevent another such revolution and incident happening again.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study was to attempt to answer the questions: 1) Who were the Red Guards? 2) What was their role in the Cultural revolution? 3) Why did the Red Guards exhibit the particular behaviour they did? and 4) What were the psychological characteristics of adolescence that Mao manipulated to achieve his political power in China? By presenting an extensive review of the Cultural Revolution and Red Guards, the study has described and explained the Red Guard phenomenon, and provided the necessary historical background for understanding the subject. The second part of the literature review dealt with particular topics in adolescent psychology, that assist in analyzing the major influences on the Red Guards.

On the basis of the above discussion, the study attempted to find answers to the research questiongs by interviewing six individual Chinese, using their personal experiences during the Cultural Revolution as sources of insight. These individuals were chosen from contrasting social backgrounds deliberately. They were from different parts of China, and were different ages. The goal was to understand the Red Guards' behaviour and role from a wide perspective. Each individual had a unique story to tell. Their stories were rich and vivid and produced a different picture of the Cultural Revolution than a mere historical analysis could provide.

The data was collected from a number of sources: an autobiographical recollection, personal interviews in North America, mail correspondence with those still in China, and a from an autobiography written by a witness who was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution. The presentation of the data revolved around my personal experiences, and data from other individuals was woven in to support, contradict, or expand particular points.

Sociological and psychological first-person life histories collected through retrospective study were directed at using the person as a vehicle through which basic aspects of human behaviour, and personality development could be better understood. Several implications can be derived from this analysis.

First, The Red Guard was a group of naive and emotional youngsters, mainly students, who played the part of pioneers. They rushed headlong into the front of political struggle. They became a strong political power sweeping across the country almost overnight. The first Red Guard organizations were formed in Beijing with Mao Tsetung's approval. The movement quickly spread throughout China. The stories presented in the previous chapter reveal that most of the Red Guards responded out of blind faith in the Mao they had been indoctrinated to love and worship since childhood. Some Red Guards saw this political movement as a chance to show off their ability and fulfill their dreams to be heroes. Some saw the Cultural Revolution as an opportunity to vent simmering frustrations about inequities in the educational system, or about the clogged channels slowing mobility after graduation. Still others used the excuse of the Red Guards as an instrument of vengeance against the teachers and officers they disliked. And many, intoxicated with power, and uninhibited by authority of any kind, were simply swept along by the excitement of the movement. Few of the youthful participants truly understood the ideological meaning of the Cultural Revolution. In their hands, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie degenerated into gang wars, joyrides, souvenir hunts and orgies of destruction.

Secondly, each story describes the behaviour of the Red Guards from individual perspectives. Duringthe Cultural Revolution, the Guards worshipped their great leader Chairman Mao fanatically. They lauched an all-out fight and bravely fought in the vanguard against all class enemies and capitalist roaders; they destroyed the Four Olds and set up the Four News. They charged and lashed at everything, ordered people around, and held power over other people's lives and property. The Guards attacked, and even killed people of dignified and noble bearing. The Guards' revolutionary acts were fuelled by revolutionary enthusiam, energy, and they were committed to crushing offensiveness.

Thirdly, while the Guards played the part of a vanguard on the one hand, they were the hatchet-men and cannon fodder for Mao in this revolutionary movement on the other. But why did they agree to be farcial characters, used by Mao to increase his own political power? The objective of this study was to explain why and how these youngsters were able to be so savage and inhuman. How did they feel about their role in the political struggle? What did they think? The literature review and the individual stories helped reveal particular adolescent psychological characteristics demonstrated by the Red Guards. These characteristics include instability and immaturity; imaginary audience and personal fable; and the tendency to self-display. The Red Guards' pervasive need for self-importance, self-assertion, achievement, and confrontation were reflected by their desire to reform society , their hero-worship, their distrust of authority figures, and their aggressiveness.

In addition to these need requirements, these youngsters experienced a very special social environment in China. Although the youths had different experiences, and held different ideas because of their different backgrounds, there are a number of common characteristics that unite these Chinese adolescents.

Blind Worship of Authority and Idol

The Chinese people, affected by more than 2,000 years of feudal culture, had been continuously educated by the Chinese Communist party since the Liberation of 1949. Thus, they treated Mao like a God rather than a person. Because they considered Mao an absolute authority and a great national hero, they obeyed his every instruction. From Wu and Yang's reasons for participating in the Red Guard demonstrates how pure, naive and devout they were. They would have gone anywhere and done anything for Mao.

Through Yang's testimony the reader can see how reverently he respected and worshipped Mao. He constantly expressed his utter devotion and loyalty to Mao. He carried the little red book, Quotations from Chairman Mao everywhere. He wore the badge of Chairman Mao on his chest every day, and he had a portrait of Chairman Mao above his bed. He took Mao's instruction as a guide for his daily life. He thought that anyone who dared to oppose Mao's teaching was opposed to Mao himself. Yang was convinced that he should stand up to defend Mao Tsetung's Thought at the crucial moment. Willing to do anything for Mao, he bravely destroyed the Four Olds to set up the Four News, believing that he was fighting against the class enemies of Chairman Mao. Wu also believed that Mao's teaching, "rebellion is right," was a principle of Marxism. Chairman Mao called on everyone to "bombard the headquarters" of "Party power holders who take the capitalist road." Yang truly believed that the Guards were integral to the saving of the Chinese Revolution. It was glorious to fight for the ultimate and absolute victory of Chairman Mao's correct revolutionary line. Wu believed in everything the Guards did for the defense of the proletarian revolution and their great leader Chairman Mao. He joined the Cultural Revolution without hesitation, worshipped Mao, and charged forward on Mao's behalf. Yang's and Wu's, attitude was quite common among Chinese adolecents at that time. Extreme loyalty characterized most of the Red Guards.

The song "East Is Red", a popular tune during the Cultural Revolution, said that "China has given birth to Mao Tsetung." The Red Guards firmly believed that the great leader Chairman Mao was the Sun which never set in their minds. Consequently, they would do anything to fight, to struggle, to rebel for their great leader Chairman Mao and the revolutionary cause, even sacrifice themselves.

As Chaube (1983) noted:

> There are many such individuals who encourage younger people to flatter them. They derive pleasure from such flattery by others. Hero-worship is rather a distant affair and society does not appreciate it. Hero-worshippers are mostly condemned

> and are considered objects of contempt. However, the hero of the youth exercises a lot of emotional influence and young boys and girls do not tolerate those who criticise them. They also feel deeply injured when there are indications that their hero has no affection for them. They become restless and are unable to concentrate on work. Sometimes, the emotional impact is so devastating that they contemplate committing suicide. (p. 101)

Exploiting his exalted position, Mao used these simple-minded and naive youngsters. Teenagers were most susceptible to agitation and they were easily prompted to do unreasonable and even inhuman things. He pushed these hot-blooded youngsters onto the historic stage of the Cultural Revolution.

Self-Importance, Achievement, Curiosity

The literature review revealed apsects of the psychological character of adolescents. They have needs for self-importance, self-assertion, self-display, intimacy, belonging, and respect. They wish to throw off the control that teachers, parents, and society have over them. The stories of Hong, Wu, and Yang demonstrate these aspects of adolescent thought. Hong thought the Cultural Revolution provided him an opportunity to be free from the classroom, and allow him to show his leadership ability and talent to his parents, teachers, and schoolmates. Wu, too, thought that the Cultural Revolution was a good chance for him to demonstrate his utter devotion to revolution. It was here that he could display his talents and realize his dream of being a hero. He would be respected and worshipped by thousands of people. In Huang's story, Chen wanted to be somebody, to stand out from the crowddespite his knowing that his behaviour was inhumane. This kind of behaviour examplies Red Guards' mentality. Wu and Yang tried to be better than other Red Guards out of the desire to show their outstanding revolutionary qualities.

As Mitchell (1979) stated,

> Self-importance provides the confidence which permits investigation and exploration of life opportunities; the absence of such confidence fosters acquiescence. Self-importance provides a reserve of psychological strength which allows one to cope more adequately with anxiety and frustration. It also makes the appraisal of new people or novel situations less threatening. Finally, a sense of self-importance means that the young person is not at the mercy of contrived rituals or invented customs designed to prove one's importance. Self-importance reinforces self-reliance by instilling confidence, and opposes the blind conformism which derives from the desire to attain importance at the expense of individualism. (p.106)

According to Mitchell's analysis, the Red Guards wanted to do something to prove their importance, to cause a sensation throughout the country at the critical revolutionary moment. Thus, the Cultural Revolution served to meet many of the youngsters' psychological needs.

The Cultural Revolution gave teenagers a chance to satisfy their curiosity. When Yang wore the army uniform he felt like he was head and shoulders above the others. Wu felt like a Superman in the real world. Hong liked to feel like a leader, just like his father in the old revolutionary era. The proud feeling of superhumanity thoroughly revealed the "imaginary audience" of the Red Guards' mentality. They believed that they were the center of everyone's attention. They acted as if they were continually "on stage" and in front of an audience focused on them. This form of egotistical reasoning contributed to the Red Guards' feeling of being on stage, and encouraged them to perform as hero revolutionaries for an imaginary audience. This feeling tends to underlie the excessive self-consciousness that characterizes many adolescents. These young people attempt to find their own position in the world by playing various societal roles. They also seek to transform the world to meet their own needs and goals. In their attempt to make the world conform to their views, the Red Guares assumed the role of reformers who were both idealistic and intolerant.

The Red Guards also enjoyed the fantasy of being in power. Every time they went out to destroy the Four Olds, they felt like they were going to fight a new battle, and felt triumphant when they returned from the "Big mopping-up". Wu believed that what they were doing was very important in the life and death struggle for the Party and the country. Yang remembered feeling that the Red Guards felt like adults for the first time. He also thought that their actions were important, not to mention fun. Like Wu and Yang, all of the Red Guards were very proud of their roles as, "Revolutionary Little Generals." They were so confident that they were part of a great revolutionary cause, that everything they said seemed like an imperial edict to them. These feelings were so good, that the Guards believed that the populace held them in special esteem,that they were judged as possessing desirable character traits, and thought capable of making sound judgements. From this evidence we could find the curious psychology of youngsters looking for excitiment, fun, and, unfortunately, destruction.

Aggressiveness in Red Guards

The Cultural Revolution was an aggressive revolution, and aggressiveness was certainly evident in the Red Guards' behaviour.

According to Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Man is naturally aggressive. Human nature is modifiable only to the extent that restrictions are perceived as enhancing the need for instinctual gratification. From the Red Guards' behaviour at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution we recognize the kind of aggressive behaviour described in Freud's exposition of human aggression.

In the special political environment of China at the time of the Cultural Revolution, many people felt that their lives were at risk. In order to protect themselves from self-destruction, they behaved in a revolutionary, destructive manner. To these young rebels, the Cultural Revolution freed them of all discipline and social constraint, and Mao's support and praise for them worked them into a hysteria. These teenages bullied and humiliated others exhaustively, destroying anything and everything they pleased. Cheng (1986) described what happened to her home in some detail; the Red Guards smashed everything they saw, they shook their fists in front of her nose; and they spat on the floor. They believed this behaviour was a correct interpretation of Mao's teachings, "If we do not destroy, we cannot establish," and "Rebellion is right." They believed the things that they destroyed belonged to the old culture. All of them were the useless things of feudal emperors, landlords and the capitalist class, and were things that could have no significance to the proletarian class.

Yang explained how the Guards rampaged temples, destroying the relics, and insulting the monks and nuns. The Guards searched each house for old things, they organized struggle meetings and parades everywhere, they stopped buses and punished passengers whose clothes they did not like, they attacked anyone who showed any resistance, and they closed down all the stores that they thought were bourgeois, feudal spawns. They believed that all the things they did were completely justifiable for they believed that their group was the most loyal to their great leader Chairman Mao. Imagination made them believe it was the right time to mount the political stage.

Each story illustrates how both the Red Guards and the witnesses experienced similar feelings while criticizing former friends at struggle meetings. Both were astounded at how many teachers, "capitalist roaders," "class enemies," and even their blood relatives, were badly beaten, or killed by the Red Guards.

In Hong's story, a group of Beijing Red Guards killed more than one hundred people within a few hours in the suburb of Beijing. The Red Guard nicknamed "steamed bun stuffed with vegetables" killed seven persons in one night, and held a memorial ceremony for his dagger. In Dong's hometown Tao County so many people were killed that the Tao River turned blood red. All of the people killed by the Red Guards were not personally known to them, but because they were members of the Five Black Catetories, their deaths were justified. These young people were moulded by Mao Tsetung to fill a special social condition. They acted foolishly and recklessly. They miscalculated the situation, unaware as they were, that they were mere pawns in a political game. The Cultural revolution informed us that teenagers can easily be pushed to act inhumanely.

Chen, in Huang's story, burned his teacher with a cigarette. Chen's behaviour demonstrated some Red Guards' impulses, vent, and fantasy from in power. He derived instinctual gratification from cruel acts, and received bizarre pleasure in the suffering of others. Chen believed that the cruelty he demonstrated proved his loyalty to their great leader Chairman Mao, and proved that he possessed more revolutionary spirit than others. The mentality and behaviour of the Red Guards was a sad example of ugly human aggression.

Confrontation and Rebellion in Red Guards

The needs for confrontation and rebellion are important psychological characteristics of adolescence. Like other adolescents, the Red Guards had the same need for confrontation and rebellion.

According to Miller (1975), adolescent confrontations with authority figures in a continuous struggle to avoid the vicious cycle and to find an optimum balance of control and flexibility.(p.74) Red Guards, like other adolescents, needed confrontation in order to help consolidate the sense of inner authority developed in childhood. During that period they have a feeling of superiority against some and some feeling of inferiority against others. Youth seeks confrontation with authority, forming a necessary part of a normal developmental process. Confrontation builds an inner repertoire of "standing alone" experiences. These facilitate the necessary shift from dependence on external authority to autonomous behaviour. Likewise, these experiences help them explore, test and gradually extend their own resources.

China has a long feudal history. For centuries the Chinese people lived under autocratic feudal rule. They were ideologically shackled and spiritually enslaved. Wu and Dong's reflections exemplified these feelings. Their thoughts and behaviour were fettered and restrained as they were educated and controlled by their parents, teachers and society. Outwardly they only demonstrated were submissive to the system, but inwardly, they felt defiant.

The Cultural Revolution provided a wonderful chance for these youngsters to release their resentments. It was a belated explosion of hatred towards, not only the external authority of teachers, parents and society, but also towards their inner authority of traditional customs and values to which they had hitherto been enslaved. In the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards' rebellion was agitated and encouraged by their great leader Chairman Mao. They felt as if they were breaking through every psychological block, confronting authority and social order was an elating experience. Adults responsible for their previous resentment were punished, and nobody dared to stop them during the Cultural Revolution. The Red Guards enjoyed the feeling of rebellion and confrontation, and they liked to believe that others were respectful and proud of them.

These essential drives of adolescence helps to explain why so many young people were so easily aroused in such a short time at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

From this research, I have found interesting relationships between Western psychology and Eastern adolescents. Although Western and Eastern backgrounds in culture, history, society, and politics are quite different, characteristics of Western adolescence were evident in the behaviour of the Red Guards. The current study helps to illuminate aspects of adolescent psychology. Thus, Western psychological theiries of adolescence are applicable to the study of Eastern adolescence, reality and society. However, the reader must keep in mind the unique social, cultural, and political context, that was engendered by the Cultural Revolution. Although the Red Guards' psychological characteristics were similar to those of other adolescents , because of the special social environment of the Cultural Revolution,they tended to emerge particularly forcefully, and to enhance their active experience.

Before examing the psychology of the Red Guards, the social environment of the Cultural Revolution which cultivated these young rebels must be understood. The Cultural Revolution was not a chance occurrence. It cut at the very root of traditional culture,and at the economic and political system. It was a revolution stemming from a power struggle causing massive suffering and, resulted in the denigration of China's cultural and social structure.

In summary, it can be said that the causes for this disastrous political movement were: a). Mao's belief in, "Unending class struggle." He emphasized again and again that throughout the entire period of transition from capitalism through socialism until the era of communism, classes and class struggle would persist. He warned that to forget this great truth would lead to serious mistakes.and b). Mao's feudalistic emperor thinking: He wanted to rule with supreme authority. Those who spoke dissenting words would not escape a hellish fate. In general, the Cultural Revolution resulted from Mao's ego and personal ambition. In order to rule with supreme power, he schemed and ruthlessly defeated his rivals in continual political struggle. He did not hesitate even when he realized that his actions would push the whole nation into war. The Red Guard was the product of this era.

In this particular era, Chinese people, particularly Chinese youth, were educated only in Communist doctrine. Everyone believed that the Cultural Revolution was going to decide the future of the nation. Mao manipulated the reverence for his personality, turning it into a form of cult in worship. He knew that the Chinese people respected, and would obey him. This revolution met the psychological needs of the Chinese people, particularly the youth. Politically depressed for a long time, the people longed for an uprising to show their anger. As soon as the opportunity arose, everyone joined the movement. The final and more subtle motive of peoples' participation concerned personal survival:

Revolutionary enthusiasm in this political movement prevented their own persecution themselves. The Red Guards, mere youngsters, were pushed onto the stage of history in this special social environment .

By understanding the Cultural Revolution, in its contextual environment, emergence of the Red Guards can be understood more objectively. The significance of such understanding leads to the conclusion of this paper: the Red Guard phenomenon resulted from universal characteristics of adolescence combined with a particular social environment in China.

The six stories illustrated a number of aspects of adolescent psychology that were evident in the behaviour of the Red Guards. The Red Guards provided an excellent historical sample of adolescent behaviour on a mass scale. Although the Guards were immature, naive, and blundering, their strong desire to reform society, and blaze new trails was evident, despite the fact that most of their enthusiasm was manifested through the persecution of their elders. The Red Guards' energy was guided in a destructive direction by Mao. The Red Guard phenomenon provides a good lesson in education. Discovering how to guide adolescents in the reformation of society while avoiding society's destruction is a very important subject for all of us.

The field of adolescent psychology is a comprehensive one. This study attempted to examine one aspect of it and apply it to an Eastern culture. This application is only in its elementary stages. Further psychological studies of the Chinese people, and of Eastern culture will definitely provide some more fruitful results contributing to the better understanding of human behaviour.

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APPENDIX A

Glossary

Baojia System✓

A system of rural control developed in China in imperial times, featuring mutual control and collective responsibility within units of various numbers of village households. The system was reinstituted by the Guomindang government in 1932 as a means of supressing rural revolt and was also employed by the Japanese during the occupation of north China.

Black Categories

Seven types of undesirable family backgrounds: landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, capitalist roaders and capitalists.

Cadre

Originally, a Communist Party official, but now most commonly used in reference to a full-time functionary of the the Party or the Government. Also used to designate anyone exercising leadership in an ordinary political or working situation.

Capitalist Roaders

Term applied during the Cultural Revolution to those in power who, by persisting in Soviet-type policies and practices, were turning into a new ruling elite and encouraging bourgeois trends in society (for example, profits and bonuses in industry, and private plots on farms).

Central Committee

Elected by the National party Congress, it is the highest body in the Chinese Communist party when it is in session. During the Ninth Party Congress, 170 members were elected to the Central committee. the Central Committee in turn elects the Political Bureau and approves decisions made by the latter body.

Central Cultural Revolution Group

Chairman Mao's operational headquarters from which key directives to guide the Cultural revolution were issued. Mao, Lin Piao, and Zhou Enlai together with the Cultural Group constituted the de facto leadership of the country until the fall of 1967 when, after the expulsion of the ultra-leftist members, the group declined in power.

"China's Khrushchev"

Also identified as the "No. 1 Party person in authority," and the author of "Self-Cultivation." Although the Chinese official announcement did not name him, he was Liu Shaoqi, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

CCP has been the leading force in the Chinese revolution and in the construction of socialism. Like other Communist parties, the CCP is an organization of professional revolutionaries based on democratic centralism. The CCP was founded in 1921 and at first maintained close contact with the international Communist movement (Comintern) and the Nationalist party, (GMD) in China. Since 1927, it has been politically, organizationally, and ideologically independent. During the 1930s and 1940's, it developed a revolutionary strategy and mobilized resources for the struggle against the Japanese invaders and the KMT. After Liberation, the CCP expanded membership from 4.5 million in 1949 to 17 million in 1961. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao expressed fear that some sections of the CCP were losing revolutionary spirit, and might become a new exploiting class. After fierce political struggle, revolutionary committees assumed command and the party was reorganized.

Chuanlian, literally, "joining the great circuit"

A term used during the Cultural Revolution referring to the Red Guards' travels around the country, ostensibly to exchange revolutionary experiences, but more often to sight-see.

Comrade, "tongzbi," literally, "people of the same ideal"

The term initially was adopted among Communists, but after Liberation it came into widespread use as a replacement for "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss." It became particularly significant during the Cultural Revolution,when people who came under criticism lost the right to be addressed as comrade.

Cultural Revolution (Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution)

In Marxist terminology, a revolution within the existing superstructure. A historicallyl unprecedented political revolution in what was already a socialist China. Begun in 1965 with a piece of heavily political literary criticism written by Yao Wenyuan against the deputy mayor of Beijing, it burst fully on the scene when the dazibao went up around the Beijing University campus criticizing the leadership of the University for revisionism and bourgeois reaction. Mao himself subsequently wrote a dazibao, "bombard the Headquarters" (i.e., of the Communist party) and the movement spread throughout the country on the energy of the radical middle-school and university Red Guards. At the outset, the supporters of Mao were the underdogs, but the January 1967 revolution in Shanghai turned the tide in their favor and against Liu Shaoqi, "China's Khrushchev," along with his supporters in the party bureaucracy. When Red Guards proved unable to develop the triple alliances upon which the new revolutionary committees were to be based, workers, Mao's Thought propaganda teams and the People's Liberation Army moved in "to support the left" in factories and schools around the country. During the Cultural Revolution, the masses were encouraged to take part actively in the "three great struggles": class struggle,l the struggle for production, and the struggle for invention.

Dazibao, literally, "big-character poster"

A medium of expression of political views, especially by those who have no access to the press. Essays or manifestos written on posters and often put up on walls. Written by individuals, groups, or organizations, posted publicly, which expresses citizens' opinions about certain cadres, and social problems, often critical in naturel. These were used in early mass movements, May 4, the student anti-Japanese imperialist movement of the 1930s, and most popularly during the Cultural Revolution.

Dictatorship of the proletariat

Marx's term for the direct exercise of power by the working class after the seizure of power in a revolution. It implies both a dictatorial use of force to prevent the overthrown classes from returning to power as well as direct and participatory democracy on the part of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Four Bigs

Big flowering of opinion, big contention, big character posters, and big debate.

Four Clean-ups

The education movement to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization, and economy.

Four News

New ideology, new culture, new customs, and new habits, everything must be proletarianized.

Four Olds

Old ideology, old culture, old customs, and old habits of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. These were the targets of a campaign conducted early in the Cultural Revolution.

Gang of Four

Mao's widow Jiang Qing, the rebel leader Wang Hongwen, the writer Yao Wenyuan, and the Party propagandist Zhang Chunqiao. All four rose to political prominence during the Cultural Revolution. They were arrested in October 1976 and charged with responsibility for ten years of lawlessness. They were tried in late 1980 and convicted and sentenced to prison terms in January 1981.

Great Helmsman

One of the four titles bestowed on Mao Zedong by Lin Biao. The other three were "great leader," "great teacher," and "great commander."

Great Leap Forward

Initiated by Mao in 1958: a plan to utilize China's vast manpower to effect improvement in industry and agriculture without foreign help. Cooperatives were merged into People's Communes. All agricultural resources were mobilized, and new techniques such as early planting were employed. Industry was largely decentralized, and small-scale production at the family and village level was encouraged. Natural disasters and serious crop failures in 1959, 1960, and 1961, proved the program was unrealistically ambitious and led to great economic setbacks. This was a temporary lessening of Mao's direct leadership.

Key school

One of a limited number of schools in each province and municipality that has priority in the allocation of money, materials, and faculty. The key-school system, abolished during the Cultural Revolution, has been revived.

Guomingdang (GMD)

The Nationalist Party, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1912. Since the 1927 purge fo left-wing elements, the Guomindang has been under the control of Chiang Kaishek and has claimed to represent the whole Chinese people. In 1949 the Guomindang and its adherents were driven from the Chinese mainland by the Communists and took refuge on the island of Taiwan, where they remain as the "Republic of China."

Liberation

The victory of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) over the military forces of the Nationalists (GMD), in a civil war which was fought off and on since 1927. It was carried on with resolute vigor from the time of the surrender of the Japanese forces in China in 1945. The official day celebrated for the Liberation is October 1, 1949, the day of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Notes from Three-Family Village

A series of articles written by Wu Han, Teng To, and Liao Mosha in Frontline, Peking Daily, and Peking Evening News since 1961.

Party Committee

A generic term for the Communist Party leadership group in localities and organizations at all levels, from national units down to schools, factories, and neighborhoods.

People's Communes

The rural communes that integrated government administration and economic management in the countryside. Organized in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward on the basis of farming cooperatives, each commune was composed of production brigades, often encompassing a village. Each brigade in turn was composed of production teams. The land and other chief means of production were collectively owned by the three levels of commune, production brigade, and production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. Distribution was based on the socialist principle, "To each according to his work." The communes have been disbanded under Deng Xiaoping's leadership, on the grounds that the system dampened peasants' enthusiasm for production.

People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)

The official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It published daily in Beijing which serves as the official organ for the government of the People's Republic. All official policy announcements appear first in this paper.

People's Liberation Army (PLA)

The armed forces of the People's Republic of China. Today's army evolved from the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army founded in 1927, which became the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies in 1937 and the PLA in 1946. Since the Cultural Revolution, PLA men and women can be found on almost all major revolutionary committees in the civilian sector. This was an institutionalized of its Cultural Revolution role of "supporting the left."

Poor and lower-middle peasants

Elements of a classification system developed to govern the redistribution of land during the Land Reform (q.v.). The three major categories of peasant were poor, middle, and rich, with middle further subdivided into lower-middle, middle, and upper-middle. On the theory that the poorer one was, the more one welcomed revolution, poor and lower-middle peasants were considered the closest allies of the proletariat. Middle and upper-middle peasants were seen as potential sympathizers, and rich peasants, together with landlords, as enemies. These classifications were inheritable. They have been abolished since Deng Xiaoping came to power.

Production brigade see People's Communes

Public Security Bureau

An all-purpose police agency whose responsibilities range from traffic control and fire-fighting to criminal investigations and maintaining the peace.

Qinghua

Short for Qinghua University, China's premier university for science and engineering, located in Beijing.

Red Categories

Five classifications of revolutionary family background: workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary martyrs.

Red and expert

A slogan put forth in 1958 as the goal of Chinese education. One who was red and expert had acquired both proletarian political consciousness and specialized skills.

Red Guards

In May 1966, the students of a Beijing middle school began to put up "big character posters" (dazibao) protesting certain activities of the teachers and administrators of their school. As this practice spread to other middle schools and universities, the students formed groups and called themselves, "Red Guards." When Chairman Mao met them in Tiananmen Square and put on a red armband with the name Red Guard on it, this name became official. These students were instrumental in closing down schools all over China and carrying the cultural revolution to all parts of China. In 1969-1970, many eventually volunteered or were sent down to the countryside to work with and serve the peasants.

Rehabilitation

The reversal of unjust or mistaken verdicts: to have one's name cleared.

Revisionism

Term applied by Lenin to the German Social Democrats at the turn of the century, as Eduard Bernstein, had argued that the proletariat could gain power through peaceful, evolutionary, and reformist means. Since the early 1960's, the Chinese used the term (first indirectly and then directly) to designate the ideology and policies of the Soviet leaders, notably their advocacy of the thesis of peaceful coexistence and peaceful transition to socialism. The term was used in China to designate tendencies opposed to Mao's concept of uninterrupted revolution, implying an espousal of Soviet-type policy in domestic and foreign affairs.

Revolutionary Committees

Originally set up during the Cultural Revolution as temporary administrative organs after rebels had disrupted the workings of local governments, these committees were not abolished until the late 1970's.

Revolutionary martyr

Posthumous title bestowed on a person who died in service to the revolution during the war years prior to Libertion. Sometimes the title is awarded for unusual heroism during peacetime.

Right

Anyone who advocated unity instead of conflict had "right" tendency.

Rightist

A label applied to hundreds of thousands of people, mainly intellectuals, during the Anti-rightist Movement of late 1957: a backlash that followed the Hundred Flowers Campaign, of which the Central Committee had called for criticism. Many rightists were jailed or exiled to remote areas. Most were officially rehabilitated after 1978.

Self-criticism

A method of self-examination promoted by the Communist Party to solve conflicts within the Party or among the people. During the Cultural Revolution, self-criticism became tantamount to confession under duress.

Sixteen-Point decision

The charter of the Cultural Revolution, issued in August 8, 1966. The document's full title was "Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

Struggle Meeting

The first struggle meetings were held during Land Reform in 1950, peasants aired their grievances and denounced the landlords. They became commonplace during the Cultural Revolution as forums for the denunciation of overthrown authority figures.

Three Difficult Years

A period of economic trouble in the years 1960/62, now attributed to mistakes of the leadership combined with widespread natural disasters and the Soviet Union's sudden withdrawal of economic and technical aid.

Three Family Village

The joint authors of a satirical newspaper column that became the first target of criticism in the Cultural Revolution. The three authors were Deng Tuo, Wu Han, and Liao Mosha.

Three-goods student

Title awarded to students for good political thinking, good schoolwork, and good health.

Three-in-one organization

Common description of the revolutionary committees set up during the Cultural Revolution, which were suppposed to include representatives from three sectors of society: government officials whose names had been cleared, the army, and rebel groups.

Tiananmen Gate, literally, "The Gate of Heavenly Peace."

Built in 1417, it stands at the entrance to the Forbidden City.

Tiananmen Square

A 40-hectare square, Chinese authorities claim it is the largest public plaza in the world, it is located in front of Tiananmen Gate.

Two-line struggle (Bourgeois reactionary line; Proletarian revolutionary line)

The standard description for internal political debate in the Communist Party. Following Mao Tsetung's famous concept that in all revolutionary struggles there are "we" and the "enemy," this struggle during the Cultural Revolution was seen as between two lines. While individuals could and did shift, sincerely or not, from one line to the other, the issues always remained the same. The bourgeois reactionary line related to those who were against rebellion by the masses, repressed the masses, and opposed revolution. The proletarian revolutionary line, which Mao expressed in his poster "bombard the headquarters," called for mass rebellion to criticize, struggle against, and remove bourgeois rightists and capitalist roaders from power. For Mao, the Cultural Revolution was a struggle between his revolutionary line and Liu Shaoqi's "bourgeois line ." The notion of a two-line struggle was abandoned in the late 1970's.

Ultra-Left

Term designating a persistent tendency for left revolutionary action to go to extremes, seeking the complete destruction of all constituted authority, often stated by the Chinese to include the incorrect view which sought to oppose all and overthrow all.

Ultra-Left Tendency

Anyone who advocated conflict instead of unity had an ultra-left tendency.

Work Team

A work team is a group of cadres and other political people sent by some central headquarters to "trouble-shoot" problems, or bring people into line with higher policy. During the early period of the Cultural Revolution, the term designated the teams sent out by "loyalist" Party headquarters to take over and suppress the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution.

Xiaozibao, literally, "small-character poster."

A condensed version of dazibao.

Young Pioneers

A Chinese children's organization which accepts almost all school children aged 7/14. Founded in 1949, its main principle is the "five loves" : love of motherland, the people, labor, science, and public property.

Youth League

Membership in the Chinese Communist Youth League, which evolved from the Chinese Socialist Youth League established in 1922, is a prelude to membership in the Communist Party. The Youth League organizes political and recreational activities.

Yuan

The Chinese dollar, equivalent in the 1960's to about $U>S 0.40 and in 1986 to $ U>S> 0.30.

APPENDIX B

Biographical Notes

Chen Boda (1904-)

Mao Tsetung's long-time personal secretary, who headed the Central Cultural Revolution Group. His political career ended at the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, when he was implicated in Lin Biao's conspiracy to seize state power. He was tried as a member of the "Lin Buao anti-Party clique" in 1980 and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.

Deng Xiaoping (1904 -)

Secretary-general of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party at the start of the Cultural Revolution. Deng became a main target of criticism but emerged as the key architect of the subsequent economic and political reforms. He is currently chairman of the Central Advisory Commission to the Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission.

Hai Rui (1514-1587)

Minister of revenue during the Ming dynasty. He was dismissed from office several times and was once jailed for criticizing the emperor. His name has become synonymous with honesty and uprightness.

Hu Yaobang (1915-1989)

Secretary-general of the Youth League at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Recruited into the Red Army as a boy in the 1930's, Hu was still in his teens when he finished the Long March. He was Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party.

Jiang Jieshi (1887-1975)

A native of Zhejiang Province, eastern China. He headed the Huangpu Military Academy and was a follower of Sun Yatsen. He attained political and military leadership of the Guomindang during the Northern Expedition (1925-1927) which supposedly united the Republic of China under Guomindang sovereignty. He was Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of China during the Japan War and was elected president in 1943. On the eve of the Communist victory in 1949, he fled from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan, where he remained president of the Guomindang regime until his death in 1975..

Jiang Qing (1913-1991)

Mao Tsetung's widow. She married Mao Tsetung in Yanan in 1939. (It was not the first marriage for either.) Before the marriage, she had been a movie actress, using the stage name of Lan Ping. There is no indication that Jiang Qing had had any important political role until the Cultural Revolution, when she emerged as an important spokeswoman and theoretician on questions of culture and theater. Possibly most responsible for the development of revolutionary ballet in China since the Cultural Revolution. She was also one of five members of the Cultural Revolution Group, which guided the Cultural Revolution in many localities and institutions. See Glossary, "Gang of Four."

Lei Feng (1940-1962)

A soldier who dedicated himself to helping others. After his death in an accident, his diaries and good deeds were publicized, and a nationwide movement to learn from his selflessness was launched among school children.

Lin Biao (1907-1971)

A Red Army general by the time he was in his twenties, Lin won a reputation as invincible after his field army swept across the whole of China on the eve of Liberation. He has been one of China's most important and brilliant military commanders since the creation of the

PLA in 1927. Named defense minister in 1959, Lin had a great deal to do with the personality cult that developed around Mao Tsetung. At the Ninth Party Congress in 1969 he was officially named Mao's heir. He is said to have won every battle but his last: Lin with his wife and son died in a plane crash in Mongolia, allegedly trying to flee to the Soviet Union after his plot to assassinate Mao failed.

Liu Shaoqi (1898-1969)

A career revolutionary who led underground work in Kuomintang controlled areas before Liberation and replaced Mao as head of state after the Great Leap Forward failed. Chairman of the state and president from 1959 to 1966, during which time he was actively concerned with the development of the economy and the Party. At this time he was Mao's heir apparent. Liu came under sharp attack during the Cultural revolution, because the policies that he advocated incrase class differences in China. He became the main target of the Cultural Revolution. As a result of these attacks, Liu was removed from his leadership position and died in custody. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1980.

Mao Tsetung (1893-1976)

Unquestionably the most important leader of the Chinese revolution. Son of a Hunan peasant. One of the dozen men who founded the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. He became the leader of the Party in 1935, and Chairman of the Party from midway through the Long March until his death, Mao dominated Chinese politics for 40 years. In the revolutionary struggle, Mao early recognized the potential of the peasantry, especially when combined with a disciplined party-army and a rural base. As the war with Japan developed, Mao realized that nationalism was an important thing for many patriotic Chinese. He supported a united front against Japanese aggression. The final element of Mao's revolutionary strategy, a self-conscious revolutionary party based on Marxism-Leninism, was added in the early 1940s. After Liberation in 1949, Mao was Chairman of both the Government of China and the Chinese communist Party. As before, he continued to play a critical role in sensing broad needs and implementing them. In 1955, he insisted that rural China should become collectivized. In 1965, Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution to prevent a rigid class structure from developing in China. While Mao has always been revolutionary in his goals, his tactics were marked by caution and pragmatism.

Sun Yatsen (1866-1925)

Sun, a Western-trained physician, mobilized the sentiments of Chinese around the world against the Qing dynasty. His efforts culminated in the Republican Revolution of 1911. He served as provisional president for a brief time, then ceded the presidency to the military commander Yuan Shikai.

Wang Hongwen (b. 1932), see Glossary, "Gang of Four."

Yao Wenyuan (b, 1931), see Glossary, "Gang of Four."

Zhang Chunqiao (b, 1915), see Glossary, "Gang of Four."

Zhou Enlai (1898-1976)

Premier of the People's Republic of China from Liberation until his death. A veteran military commander, Zhou served as the chief Communist negotiator with the Kuomintang during the war against Japan. He is credited with holding together the Chinese economy and protecting many officials and intellectuals from Red Guard attacks during the Cultural Revolution. Efforts to prevent public displays of mourning after his death from cancer led to the Tiananmen riots of April 1976, which in turn led to the downfall of the Gang of Four

APPENDIX C

PEOPLE'S DAILY SELECT EXTRACTS

Sweep Away All Monsters

(*People's Daily*, June 1, 1966)
-From David Milton, Nancy Milton, and Franz
Schurmann *People's China* (1974) P.252-257

An upsurge is occurring in the great proletarian cultural revolution in socialist China whose population accounts for one-quarter of the world's total.

For the last few months, in response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, all armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been sweeping away a horde of monsters that have entrenched themselves in ideological and cultural positions. With the tremendous and impetuous force of a raging storm, they have smashed the shackles imposed on their minds by the exploiting classes for so long in the past, routing the bourgeois "specialists," "scholars," "authorities" and "venerable masters" and sweeping every bit of their prestige into the dust.

Chairman Mao has taught us that class struggle does not cease in China after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership has in the main been completed. He said:

> The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the

world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism, is still not really settled. The class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been very acute right through the sixteen years since China's liberation. The current great socialist cultural revolution is precisely a continuation and development of this struggle. The struggle is inevitable. The ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of all the exploiting classes are diametrically opposed to each other and cannot coexist in peace. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation; it is a most thoroughgoing revolution to bring about the gradual elimination of the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual laborers.. This cannot but meet with the most stubborn resistance from the exploiting classes.

In every revolution the basic question is that of state power. In all branches of the superstructure-ideology, religion, art, law, state power-the central issue is state power. State power means everything. Without it, all will be lost. Therefore, no matter how many problems have to be tackled after the conquest of state power, the proletariat must never forget state power, never forget its orientation and never lose sight of the central issue. Forgetting about state power means forgetting about politics, forgetting about the basic theses of Marxism and switching to economism, anarchism and utopianism and becoming muddle-headed. In the last analysis, the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle for leadership. The exploiting classes have been disarmed and deprived of their authority by the people, but their reactionary ideas remain rooted in their minds. We have overthrown their rule and confiscated their property, but this does not mean that we have rid their minds of reactionary ideas as well. During the thousands of years of their rule over the working people, the exploiting classes monopolized the culture created by the working people and in turn used it to deceive, fool and benumb the working people in order to consolidate their reactionary state power. For thousands of years, theirs was the dominant ideology which inevitably exerted widespread influence in society. Not reconciled to the overthrow of their reactionary rule, they invariably try to make use of this influence of theirs surviving from the past to shape public opinion in preparation for the political and economic restoration of capitalism. The uninterrupted struggle on the ideological and cultural front in the sixteen years from liberation up to the current exposure of the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the "Three-Family Villages," big and small, has been a struggle between the forces attempting restoration and the forces opposing restoration.

In order to seize state power, the bourgeoisie during the period of the bourgeois revolution likewise started with ideological preparations by launching the bourgeois cultural revolution. Even the bourgeois revolution, which replaced one exploiting class by another, had to undergo repeated reversals and witness many struggles-revolution, then restoration and then the overthrow of restoration. It took many European countries hundreds of years to complete their bourgeois revolutions from the start of the ideological preparations to the final conquest of state power. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution aimed at completely ending all systems of exploitation, it is still less permissible to imagine that the exploiting classes will meekly allow the proletariat to deprive them of all their privileges without seeking to restore their rule. The surviving members of these classes who are unreconciled will inevitably, as Lenin put it, throw themselves with a tenfold furious passion into the battle for the recovery of their lost paradise. The fact that the Khrushchev revisionist clique has usurped the leadership of the Party, army and state in the Soviet Union is an extremely serious lesson for the proletariat throughout the world. At present the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois "scholars" and "authorities" in China are dreaming precisely of restoring capitalism. Though their political rule has been toppled, they are still desperately trying to maintain their academic "authority," mold public opinion for a comeback and win over the masses, the youth and the generations yet unborn from us.

The anti-feudal cultural revolution waged by the bourgeoisie ended as soon as it had seized power. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, is a cultural revolution against the ideology of all exploiting classes. This cultural revolution is entirely different in nature from the bourgeois cultural revolution. It is only after the creation of the political, economic and cultural prerequisites following the capture of state power by the proletariat that the broadest road is opened up for the proletarian cultural revolution.

The proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only at demolishing all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also at creating and fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology and culture and entirely new customs and habits-those of the proletariat. This great task of transforming customs and habits is without any precedent in human history. As for all the heritage, customs and habits of the feudal and bourgeois classes, the proletarian world outlook must be used to subject them to thoroughgoing criticism. It takes time to clear away the evil habits of the old society from among the people. Nevertheless, our experience since liberation proves that the transformation of customs and habits can be accelerated if the masses are fully mobilized, the mass line is implemented and the transformation is made into a genuine mass movement.

As the bourgeois cultural revolution served only a small number of people, i.e., the new exploiting class, only a small number of people could participate in it. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, serves the broad masses of the working people and is in the interests of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. It is therefore able to attract and unite the broad masses of the working people to take part in it. The bourgeois individuals who carried out the enlightenment invariably looked down upon the masses, treated them as a mob and considered themselves as the predestined masters of the people. In sharp contrast, proletarian ideological revolutionaries serve the people heart and soul with the object of awakening them, and work for the interests of the broadest masses.

The bourgeoisie, with its base selfishness, is unable to suppress its hatred for the masses. Marx said:

> The peculiar nature of the material it [political economy] deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest. This also holds for the bourgeoisie when it has been overthrown.

The scale and momentum of the great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried on in China have no parallel in history, and the tremendous drive and momentum and boundless wisdom of the working people manifested in the movement far exceed the imagination of the lords of the bourgeoisie. Facts have eloquently proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes a moral atom bomb of colossal power once it takes hold of the masses. The current great cultural revolution is immensely advancing the socialist cause of the Chinese people and undoubtedly exerting an incalculable, far-reaching influence upon the present and future of the world.

The stormy cultural revolution now under way in our country has thrown the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries into confusion and panic. At one moment, they indulge in wishful thinking saying that our great cultural revolution has shown thst there are hopes of "a peaceful evolution" on the part of China's younger generation. A moment later, they become pessimistic, saying that all this has shown that Communist rule remains very stable. Then again, they seem to be fearfully puzzled, saying that it will never be possible to find genuine "China hands" who can promptly pass accurate judgment on what is taking place in China. Dear sirs, your wishful thinking invariably runs counter to the march of the history. The triumphant progress of this great and unparalleled cultural revolution of the proletariat is already sounding the death knell not only of the remnant capitalist forces on Chinese soil, but of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Your days are numbered.

Illuminated by the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, let us carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Its victory will certainly further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, guarantee the completion of the socialist revolution on all fronts and ensure our successful transition from socialism to triumphant communism!

_ The Great Social Cultural Revolution
(Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1966), p.1-6.
(Translates from People's Daily, Jnue 1, 1966)

PEOPLE'S DAILY

We Are Critics of the Old World

(People's Daily, June 8, 1966)

_ David Milton, nancy Milton, and Franz

Schurman People's China (1974) p.257-261

The rapid and vigorous development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the world.

Some people say, "The 700 million Chinese are all critics."

Irrespective of who says this, and whether it makes them happy or unhappy, this saying reflects the fact that China's broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellecuals, using as their weapon the thought of Mao Tse-tung, have started to criticize the old world, old things and old thinking on an unprecedented scale.

We criticize the system of exploitation, the exploiting classes, imperialism, modern revisionism, all reactionaries, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

We criticize the bourgeois conception of history, bourgeois academic theories, pedagogy, journalism, and theories of art and literaure, and all bad plays, films and works of literature and art.

In sum, we criticize the old world, the old ideology and culture, and old customs and habits which imperialism and all exploiting classes use to poison the minds of the working people, we criticize all non-proletarian ideology, all reactionary ideology which is antagonistic to Marxism-Leninism, to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Why should we criticize all this?

We do this because it is absolutely nacessary for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism and communism, and it corresponds to the laws of historical development. Lenin held that after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for a long period its strength surpasses that of the proletariat, and that, particularly in the field of ideology, for a long time it still remains predominant and very stubborn. And it uses this in every way to make ideological preparations and get public opinion ready for the restoration of capitalism. This is fully illustrated by the sharp and protracted struggles on the ideological and cultural front between the two classes and two roads in the seventeen years since the liberation of China, and especially by the struggle between the bourgeoisie plotting a restoration and the proletariat opposing a restoration, a struggle which of late has come to the fore.

Chairman Mao told us long ago that everything reactionary is the same: if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust does not vanish of itself. This applies to everything in the world. We want to build the new world so we must destroy the old; we want to create the new ideology and culture of socialism and communism so we must subject the old bourgeois ideology and culture, and the influence they exert, to thoroughgoing criticism and clear them out.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary. Its essentials are to criticize, to wage struggle and make revolution. What we practice is the militant philosophy of dialectical materialism. Struggle is life. As we go forward along the correct path of struggle, our fighting power will grow and we will be better able to advance our great cause.

Chairman Man has often emphasized that "there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no moving forward without a holding back." Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is construction; destruction comes first, and in the course of it there is construction. The formation and development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's thought have taken place in the incessant struggle to destroy the ideological system of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao says:

> What is correct always develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist in comparison with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter.

Who is to be counted on in making criticism? We must count on the broadest masses of the people, on the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals. During the revolutionary war, the masses of people used arms to criticize the old world and seize power; since victory, they have been using criticism as their weapon against all the evils left over by imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes. Only when all the 700 million people take up Mao Tse-tung's thought, the sharpest of all weapons, to make criticism can there be a clean-up on the broadest scale of the dust left hidden by the bourgeoisie in every corner and a thorough uprooting to the greatest depth of the ideology of the exploiting classes which have been in a monopolistic and dominant position for the past thousands of years. Only when the broadest masses master the proletarian world outlook and criticaze the bourgeois world outlook, master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung's thought, and criticize revisionist ideas, will there be the guarantee of China's socialist revolution being carried through to the end and of its step-by-step transition from socialism to communism.

The fact that "700 million people are critics" is stupendous, it is an epoch-making event. This in itself shows that the thinking of our 700 million people has been emancipated, that they have risen to full height and that they are no longer slaves of the old culture and old ideas of imperialism and the exploiting classes. It is not at all accidental that our 700 milliion people have become critics. It is something new that has arisen in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is something new, born of the brilliance of Mao Tsetung's thought. It is a new phenomenon, an inevitable product of the integration of Mao Tsetung's thought with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. It represents the great awakening of the Chinese people.

The birth and deepening of any great revolutionary movement is inevitably preceded by a gigantic struggle in the ideological field and heralded by a great ideological revolution. In the history of the proletarian revolution, every major polemic has been the prelude to and signal for a revolutionary leap forward. In China, each of the many major polemics in the ideological field in the seventeen years since liberation has blazed the trail for the locomotive of revolution. The great cultural revolution now under way, on a scale never known before, necessarily foreshadows a development of the socialist revolution by leaps and bounds and a new big leap forward in China's socialist construction.

Once the people have risen, the enemy falls. In China, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have risen, and the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois "scholars and authorities" will fall. In the movement of criticism that is developing on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the tremendous cultural revolution, a great new era is now emerging on the horizon, an era in which the whole of the 700 million Chinese people are people of wisdom.

Let us welcome this great new era with open arms.

The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution
(Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1966), p.18-21.
(Translated from People's Daily, June 8, 1966).

APPENDIX D

BIG-CHARACTER POSTERS SELECT EXTRACTS

BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS- MY FIRST BIG-CHARACTER POSTER

MAO TSE-TUNG* (August 5, 1966)

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was 'Left' in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

Mao Tsetung

* Mao tsetung, Current Background No. 981 (October 8, 1969). Translated from *Peking Review* No. 33 (August 11,1967), p.5

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CONVERSATIONS
WITH HIS NIECE, WANG HAI-JUNG

- From David Milton, Nancy Milton, and Franz Schurmann *"People's China"* P.240-245

1

HAI-JUNG: Class strugggle is very acute in our school. I hear that reactionary slogans have been found, some written in English on the blackboard of our English Department.

CHAIRMAN: What reactionary slogans have been written?

HAI-JUNG: I know only one. It is, "Chiang wan sui."

CHAIRMAN: How does it read in English?

HAI-JUNG: "Long live Chiang."

CHAIRMAN: What else has been written?

HAI-JUNG: I don't know any others. I know only that one.

CHAIRMAN: Well, let this person write more and post them outdoors for all people to see. Does he kill people?

HAI-JUNG: I don't know if he kills people or not. If we find out who he is , we should dismiss him from school and send him away for labor reform.

CHAIRMAN: Well, so long as he doesn't kill people, we should not dismiss him, nor should we send him away for labor reform. Let him stay in school and continue to study. You people should hold a meeting and ask him to explain in what way Chiang Kai-shek is good and what good things he has done. On our part, you may tell why Chiang Kai-shek is not good.

CHAIRMAN: How many people are there in your school?

HAI-JUNG: About three thousand, including faculty and staff members.

CHAIRMAN: Among the three thousand let us say there are seven or eight counter-revolutionaries.

HAI-JUNG: Even one would be bad. How could we tolerate seven or eight?

CHAIRMAN: You shouldn't be all stirred up by one slogan.

HAI-JUNG: Why should there be seven or eight counter-revolutionaries?

CHAIRMAN: When there are many, you can set up opposition. There can be teachers in opposition. Only they should not kill.

HAI-JUNG: Our school has realized the class line. Among the new students 70 percent are workers and sons and daughters or poor and lower-middle farmers. Others are sons and daughters of cadres and heroic officers and men.

CHAIRMAN: How many sons and daughters of cadres are there in your class?

HAI-JUNG: In addition to myself, there are two, while others are the sons and daughters of workers and poor and lower-middle farmers. They do well. I learn much from them.

CHAIRMAN: Are they on good terms with you? Do they like you?

HAI-JUNG: I think our relationship is good. I find it easy to associate with them and they find the same with me.

CHAIRMAN: That's good.

HAI-JUNG: But there is the son of a cadre who doesn't do well. In class he doesn't listen attentively to the teacher's lecture and after class, he doesn't do homework. He likes to read fiction. Sometimes he dozes off in the dormetory and sometimes he doesn't attend the Saturday afternoon meeting. On Sunday he doesn't return to school on time. Sometimes on Sunday when our class and section hold a meeting, he doesn't show up. All of us have a bad impression of him.

CHAIRMAN: Do your teachers allow the students to take a nap or read fiction in class? We should let the students read fiction and take a nap in class, and we should look after their health. Teachers should lecture less and make the students read more. I believe the student you referred to will be very capable in the future since he had the courage to be absent from the Saturday meeting and not to return to school on time on Sunday. When you return to school, you may tell him that it is too early to return to school even at eight or nine in the evening; he may delay it until eleven or twelve. Whose fault is it that you should hold a meeting Sunday night?

HAI-JUNG: When I studied at the Normal School, we usually had no meeting Sunday night. We were allowed to do whatever we liked that night. One day several cadres of the branch headquarters of the League (I was then a committee mamber of the branch headquarters) agreed to lead an organized life on Sunday night but many other League members did not favor the idea. Some of them even said to the political counselor that Sunday was a free day and if any meeting was called at night, it would be inconvenient for us to go home. The political counselor eventually bowed to their opinion and told us to change the date for the meeting.

CHAIRMAN: This political counselor did the right thing.

HAI-JUNG: But now our school spends the whole Sunday night holding meetings-class meetings, branch headquarters committee meetings or meetings of study groups for party lessons. According to my calculation, from the beginning of the current semester to date, there has not been one Sunday or Sunday night without any meetings.

CHAIRMAN: When you return to school, you should take the lead to rebel. Don't return to school on Sunday and don't attend any meeting on that day.

HAI-JUNG: But I won't dare. This is the school system. All students are required to return to school on time. If I don't, people will say that I violate the school system,

CHAIRMAN: Don't care about the system. Just don't return to school. Just say you want to violate the school system.

HAI-JUNG: I cannot do that. If I do, I will be criticized.

CHAIRMAN: I don't think you will be very capable in the future. You are afraid of being accused of violating the school system, of criticism, of a bad record, of being expelled from school, of failing to get party membership. Why should you be afraid of so many things? The worst that can come to you is expulsion from school. The school should allow the students to rebel. Rebel when you return to school.

HAI-JUNG: People will say that as the Chairman's relative, I fail to follow his instruction and play a leading role in upsetting the school system. They will accuse me of arrogance and self-content, and of lack of organization and discipline.

CHAIRMAN: Look at you! You are afraid of being criticized for arrogance and self-content, and for lack of organization and discipline. Why should you be afraid? You can say that just because you are Chairman Mao's relative, you should follow his instructions to rebel. I think the student you mentioned will be more capable than you for he dared to violate the school system. I think you people are all too metaphysical.

2

On One Occasion Chairman Mao Discussed The Problem of Study

HAI-JUNG: People now are against reading classical works. But the son of a cadre in our class devotes all his time to reading them. All of us are busy practicing speaking English, but he is reading the Hung Lou Meng [Dream of the Red Chamber]. We are all critical of his reading this novel.

CHAIRMAN: Have you ever read Hung Lou Meng?

HAI-JUNG: Yes, I have.

CHAIRMAN: Which character do you like in this novel?

HAI-JUNG: None.

CHAIRMAN: Hung Lou Meng is worth reading. It is a good book. We should read it not for its story but as history. It is a historical novel. Its language is the best in classical fiction. The author, Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in, has made a lively portrayal of Feng Tzu. The characterization of Feng Tzu is excellent. You won't be able to do the same. If you don't read Hung Lou Meng, how could you know about feudal society? Before you read Hung Lou Meng, you should know these four sayings: "The Chias are not false. They use white jade to build a hall and gold to make a horse." [This refers to the Chia family.] "The A Fang Palaces spread for three hundred li, but they could not accommodate a Shih." [This refers to the Shih family.] "The Eastern Ocean lacks a white jade bed, but the Dragon King invites the King of Ch'in Ling to visit him." [This refers to Feng Tzu's family or the Wang family.] "What a big snow in this year of plenty-pearls cheap like earth and gold like iron!" [This refers to Hsueh Pao-chi's family.] These four sayings summarize the story of Hung Lou Meng.

CHAIRMAN: Have you read Tu fu's long poem "The Northward March"?

HAI-JUNG: No. It is not in T'ang Ssu San Pai Shou [Three Hundred Poems of T'ang].

CHAIRMAN: It is in T'ang Ssu Pi Tsai [Another Anthology of T'ang Poetry]. (The Chairman took out the book, turned to that poem and told me to read it over again.)

HAI-JUNG: What problems should I pay attention to when I read this poem? What precaution should I take against its influence?

CHAIRMAN: You are always metaphysical. Why should you take precaution? No. You should receive some influence. You should go deep in it and then emerge from it. Read it over and over again but not necessarily memorize it.

CHAIRMAN: Are you required to study the Holy Bible and Buddhist sutras?

HAI-JUNG: No. Why should we read them?

CHAIRMAN: How can you do translations or handle foreign affairs if you do not study the Holy Bible and Buddhist sutras? Have you read Liao Chai [Stories from the Strange Studio?

HAI-JUNG: No.

CHAIRMAN: Liao Chai is worth reading. It is well-written. The fox spirits in Liao Chai are kind-hearted. They voluntarily help mankind.

CHAIRMAN: How do you say "chih shih fen tze" [intellectual] in English?

HAI-JUNG: I don't know.

CHAIRMAN: You have studied English for half a year. You are a chih shih fen tze yourself and yet you don't know how to say it in English.

HAI-JUNG: Let me look it up in the Chinese-English Dictionary.

CHAIRMAN: Look it up. Is there such a term?

HAI-JUNG: (After leafing the pages of the dictionary) Too bad. There is no such term in your Chinese-English Dictionary. It has only the term chih shih, but no chih shih fen tze.

CHAIRMAN: Let me take a look. (I handed the dictionary to the Chairman.) You found chih shih, but no chih shih fen tze. This dictionary is useless. It is short of many words. When you return to school, ask them to compile a better Chinese-English Dictionary. It should have all political terms and there should be sentences to illustrate the use of each word.

HAI-JUNG: How can our school compile a dictionary? We have neither time nor personnel to do it.

CHAIRMAN: There are many teachers and students in your school. Why should you doubt their ability to compile a dictionary? Let this dictionary be compiled by your school.

HAI-JUNG: All right. I will transmit your order to our leadership when I return to school. I think we can perform this task.

Beijing Red Guards

Long Live the Revolutionary Rebel Spirit of the Proletariat

Beijing Review, No.34 (Sept. 9, 1966), pp. 20-21.
- From David Miltono, Nancy Milton, & Franz Schurmann
People's China p.284-285

Revolution is rebellion, and rebellion is the soul of Mao Tsetung's thought. We hold that tremendous attention must be paid to the word "application," that is, mainly to the word "rebellion." Daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution, in a word, daring to rebel, is the most fundamental and most precious quality of proletarian revolutionaries. This is the fundamental principle of the proletarian Party spirit! Not to rebel is revisionism, pure and simple!

Revisionism has been in control of the school for seventeen years. If we do not rise up in rebellion today, when are we going to?

Some bold people who were against rebellion have, today, suddenly turned coy and shy, hemming and hawing incessantly about us being too one-sided, too high and mighty, too rude, and going too far.

All this is rank nonsense! If you are against us, then say so. why be bashful about it?

Since we want rebellion, the matter has been taken out of your hands! We are going to make the air thick with the pungent smell of explosives. Toss them over, grenades and stick bombs together, and start a big fight. 'Sympathy," "all-sidedness," out of the way!

You say we are too one-sided? What then is your all-sidedness? Your all-sidedness looks like "two combining into one," eclecticism.

You say we are too high and mighty? We are "high and mighty." Chairman Mao has said: "And those in high positions we counted no more than dust." We are going to strike down not only the reactionaries in our school, but the reactionaries of the whole world too. Revolutionaries consider the transformation of the world is their task. How can we not be "high and mighty"?

You say we are too rude? We should be rude. How can we be soft and clinging towards revisionism or go in for moderation in a big way? To be moderate towards the enemy is to be cruel to the revolution!

You say we are going too far? To put it bluntly, your "avoid going too far" is reformism; it is "peaceful transition." You are day-dreaming! We are going to strike you down to the dust and keep you there!

And there are some who are scared to death of revolution, scared to death of rebellion. Sticklers for convention, obsequious, curled up inside your revisionist shells, as soon as there is a whiff of rebellion in the air, you get nervous and afraid. Recently, heartless censures have every day been poured into your ears and, daily, your hearts beat with fear. Don't your feel it insufferable? Hasn't life become unbearable?

Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reaching and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tsetung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down smash it to pieces, pulverize it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, make rebellion in a big way, Rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world!

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

Red Guards

Middle School Attached to Tsinghua University

June 24, 1966